The Journal of Historical Review

Volume 20, Number 3 www.ihr.org May/June 2001

— The Anti-Holocaust Intifada —

IHR's Open Letter on the Beirut Conference

An Interview with Dr. Ibrahim Alloush

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Robert Faurisson

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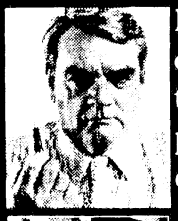

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On the cover: Australian revisionist Fredrick Töben with students of Ferdowsi University, Mashad, Iran, April, 2001.

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This issue's cover photo, showing Australian revisionist Dr. Fredrick Töben meeting university students in Iran, expresses themes of travel, discovery, communication, teaching, and learning that have been central to historical revisionism since at least 1926, when revisionism's founding spirit, Professor Harry Elmer Barnes, made his first research and lecture tour of Europe. It also documents a white-hot recent trend: the rapid growth of Holocaust revisionism, fueled by increasing cooperation between Muslim and Western revisionists, across the Islamic world.

As Mark Weber's report on the latest revisionist developments in the Middle East elucidates, the international pressure orchestrated by Jewish groups against last spring's Beirut conference (which the Institute for Historical Review helped organize) has backfired badly. To be sure, diplomatic armtwisting, above all from the U.S. state department, induced the Lebanese government to forbid the gathering, while the circulation of an open letter, signed by fourteen eminent Arab intellectuals, against the Beirut conference provided a fig leaf for the naked intervention of outside forces in Arab affairs. Yet the cancellation of the Beirut conference served only to excite the curiosity of free-minded Arabs about Holocaust revisionism. Next IHR's Open Letter, ably rebutting that of the fourteen submissive savants, and widely published in the Arab world, gave interested Arabs an organizational focus for revisionism, as well as a reasonable, knowledgeable refutation of the slurs on IHR and other revisionists.

The moving spirit behind the first successful organized Arab response to the black-out of Beirut, Ibrahim Alloush, came to revisionism through reading Roger Garaudy's *Founding Myths of Modern Israel* (available in the definitive English edition from IHR). A Palestinian Arab of Jordanian citizenship, educated as an economist at American universities, Dr. Alloush made the connection to IHR through the networking of the indefatigable revisionist MacKenzie Paine (whose spirited "Defy the Bully" essays may be accessed through www.vho.org/mlm). This activist Arab intellectual's article and interview reveal a man attuned to Western ideas, but rooted in his Arab, Islamic identity. He writes with frankness and insight on the key importance of revisionism to Arabs, and on the crisis of those Arab intellects who support Zionism, whether from opportunism or alienation. Dr. Alloush also offers some candid (and welcome) advice to Western revisionists.

It is no accident that at the May 13 conference of the Jordanian Writers Association in Amman, Dr. Alloush read at length from Robert Faurisson's planned address to the Beirut conference, or that Dr. Faurisson participated by telephone in a television discussion broadcast across the Arab world shortly afterwards. As Dr. Alloush and other Arab revisionists make clear, the painstaking, meticulous scholarship of researchers like Faurisson and Arthur Butz demonstrates revisionism's substance and refutes its enemies better than any polemic. That Beirut lecture, included in this issue, will endure as a brilliant, outspoken, and uncompromising analysis of the role of revisionism in the Arab struggle.

Fredrick Töben, like Robert Faurisson and many other Holocaust challengers today, embodies another trait that has caught the Middle Eastern imagination: the stubborn refusal to be deterred from speaking what revisionists believe, after diligent search, to be the facts. Dr. Töben, a trained philosopher who lives as philosophers were once supposed to, describes his quest for truth and justice in today's Germany, and the injustice and loss of freedom that search cost him. Then Robert Faurisson weaves a modern tale à la Andersen and Voltaire out of the rich fabric of Töben's exploits and the frailer thread of the Holocaust cult.

This issue contains as well Samuel Crowell's remarkably concessive review of Jan Gross' *Neighbors*, which finds that Gross' attempts to call Poles to self-examination over their treatment of Jews in the Second World War fall flat on his own (unexamined) Jewish chauvinism. Scott Smith's in-depth look at the movie *Pearl Harbor* — by now an economic and artistic flop — examines the ways in which today's Hollywood bends historical truth by distortion and omission.

Many readers won't fail to note the different spellings of Holocaust/"Holocaust" specified by our authors, or the occasional toughness of language in denoting "Jews" as a collective. While your editor prefers, in the liberal Western tradition, to keep responsibility personal, the seldom challenged claims of Jewish entities to act for Jewry as a whole, as well as their penchant for collective indictments of non-Jewish nations and religions, counsel a certain realism. In any case, the *Journal* will continue to adhere to the same openness on these and other revisionist issues as is evident in the closing exchange between Crowell and Jürgen Graf on the fate of the Hungarian Jews.

— *Theodore J. O'Keefe*

An Anti-Holocaust Intifada Grows among the Arabs

At a time when Palestinian resistance to Israeli occupation is stiffening and the brutality of Zionist oppression is becoming ever more obvious, Holocaust revisionism is catching fire across the Arab world. "The trend among public opinion in the Arab world today," one prominent Arab journalist recently wrote, "whether we like it or not — is to question the veracity of the accepted wisdom about the extent of the killing of Jews by the Nazis."[1]

An influential Israeli-American journalist, Yossi Klein Halevi, while predictably misrepresenting Arab attitudes toward the Holocaust, and exaggerating Arab sympathies for Hitler, agrees on the rise of revisionism among Arabs:

> The Arab world has become obsessed with the Holocaust, and two camps have emerged. One camp, which includes the government-controlled newspapers of Syria, Lebanon and the Palestinian Authority, argues that the Holocaust never happened; the other camp, which includes at least one government newspaper in Egypt, acknowledges that the Holocaust did happen and is grateful to Hitler for implementing it.
>
> Indeed, nowhere except in the Arab world is both Holocaust denial and admiration for the Final Solution as mainstream, including among intellectuals.... Hiri Manzour [Khairi Mansur], columnist for the Palestinian Authority-controlled newspaper *Al Hayat al Jadida*, April 13: "The figure of six million Jews cremated in the Nazi Auschwitz camps is a lie for propaganda."[2]

Elli Wohlgelernter, writing in the *Jerusalem Post*, similarly lamented the growing acceptance of Holocaust revisionism. In an article littered with factual errors, Elli dismissed revisionist scholars as "deniers" who claim "that Chelmno, Dachau and Auschwitz were merely disinfection sites."[3] Referring to Deborah Lipstadt, the well-known Jewish critic of Holocaust revisionism, he wrote:

> Her fear for the future are [*sic*] Arab students walking around saying they know there was no Holocaust, because they learned it in their textbooks. "A colleague of mine said: 'The bombs last a minute, and they can do terrible damage. But this stuff is an incendiary device that lasts generations.'"

Contributing significantly to this trend was the publicity surrounding preparations earlier this year for a four-day conference on Holocaust revisionism and Zionism in Beirut, Lebanon, which the Institute for Historical Review helped to organize and promote. Three influential Jewish groups — the World Jewish Congress, the Anti-Defamation League, and the Simon Wiesenthal Center — publicly demanded that Lebanese authorities ban the meeting, and the U.S. government brought covert pressure on Lebanon to ban it.

Shortly before the conference was to begin on March 31, Lebanon's prime minister announced that it would not be permitted. (See the January-February 2001 *Journal*.)

The worldwide media attention paid the Beirut conference, and its cancellation under Zionist and official U.S. pressure, greatly boosted Arab awareness of Holocaust revisionism, including the work and impact of the Institute for Historical Review.

Activism in Jordan

Nowhere has recent support for revisionism been more open and ardent than in Jordan, where the Jordanian Writers Association (JWA) and numerous scholars and journalists have done much to promote awareness of Holocaust deceit. Prominent in this effort has been Dr. Ibrahim Alloush, who is active in the JWA and the Association against Zionism and Racism (AZAR). Dr. Alloush writes a regular column for the popular Jordanian weekly *Assabeel*, and is editor of the Free Arab Voice web site (www.fav.net).

During a packed, standing-room-only AZAR meeting on April 7 in Amman, the Jordanian capital, which had been called to show solidarity with the Palestinian resistance to Zionist occupation, speaker after speaker rose to express support for revisionist historians, and to condemn Arab intellectuals who had called for the banning of the Beirut conference.

The JWA succeeded in holding a meeting devoted to Holocaust revisionism in Amman on May 13. About two hundred persons packed JWA headquarters for the gathering, entitled "What Happened to the Revisionist Historians Conference in Beirut?" This much-anticipated meeting had been postponed twice: once in April after Jordanian authorities expressed concern that it might harm relations with the United States while the country's monarch, King Abdullah, was visiting Wash-

ington, and again earlier in May.

The attendees called on colleagues in other countries to join in supporting the work of revisionist historians in uncovering lies and exaggerations in the Holocaust extermination story. Historical revisionism, explained journalist Hayat Atiyeh in her address to the meeting, is not an ideology but a position, supported by facts and meticulous analyses, about a historical event — "the Holocaust." Revisionists include Muslims, leftists, Jews, and Christians, she said, and many revisionists have been fined, fired from their jobs, socially ostracized, and even assassinated for their dissident views on the Holocaust. During the 1980s, Atiyeh continued, experts carried out scientific examinations of the alleged gas chambers in which Jews were reportedly killed during the Second World War, and found that they could not have operated as described in the extermination myth.

Another journalist, Arafat Hijazi, noted that Israel's first prime minister, David Ben Gurion, had used the Holocaust to justify the creation of the "Zionist entity." Hijazi also told the meeting that Jews had exaggerated the number of their people killed in the Second World War, and misrepresented how they perished.

In his address to the meeting, Ibrahim Alloush quoted at length from a detailed statement by French revisionist Robert Faurisson, that Faurisson had prepared for delivery at the cancelled Beirut conference. (See pages 13-22 in this issue of the *Journal*.)

Zionists, Alloush told the meeting, have succeeded in portraying themselves in Western public opinion as a people who were so victimized in the Holocaust that they practically deserve free license from the West to act with impunity against anyone at any time. The myths of the Holocaust are extremely important to the Zionist movement, Alloush continued, explaining that Jewish claims about unique persecution and systematic extermination during the war are used to justify a need for their own safe haven in Israel. This myth basically provides a justification for the rape of Palestine, he said.

"In human history, the argument of the uniqueness of Jewish deaths provides a justification for Israel and the Zionist movement to violate every ethical and legal code in the book, and to persecute opponents, like the revisionist historians and the Arabs, without any reprimand, even with sympathy, from the West," said Alloush.

Revisionists do not deny that Jews died in the Second World War, Alloush stressed. On the contrary, revisionists affirm "that hundreds of thousands of Jews died, along with the forty-five million who perished in that war." Revisionist scholars apply science to prove that gas chambers were not used to exterminate Jews systematically, he continued. Crematories, on the other hand, were used to "dispose of the corpses of people of different nationalities to circumvent plagues."

News reports and commentary on the May 13 JWA meeting appeared in many newspapers, and Zionist groups, including the influential Simon Wiesenthal Center and the Anti-Defamation League, were quick to denounce the conference. Extensive videotaped portions of the JWA meeting were broadcast on June 30 and again on July 2 on Lebanon's Hezbollah satellite television channel "Al Manar."

On June 20 the Free Arab Voice distributed by e-mail an editorial essay, "The Modern Relevance of Nazi-Zionist Cooperation," along with "Zionism and the Third Reich," an article by Mark Weber reprinted from the July-August 1993 *Journal of Historical Review*.

IHR Open Letter

In a statement issued in mid-March, fourteen prominent Arab writers called on authorities in Lebanon to ban the "Revisionism and Zionism" conference in Beirut. But the widely publicized declaration soon proved something of an embarrassment for at least two of its backers. Edward Said, a prominent Palestine-born scholar who teaches at Columbia University in New York City, repudiated the statement two weeks later, saying that he had been deceived about its content. In a semi-public letter, he explained that he had never, in fact, approved any call to ban the conference. Another signer, Elias Khoury, expressed embarrassment that Israel's ambassador to France publicly praised the Arab intellectuals' statement. A third signer, Mahmoud Darwish, publicly repudiated the statement on July 15.

The IHR responded to the statement with an "Open Letter to 14 Arab Intellectuals" (see pages 6-7 in this issue of the *Journal*). Written by IHR director Mark Weber, and headed "No to Censorship!, No to Bigotry!," it has been widely published in the Arab world. It appeared in the Saudi Arabian daily paper *Al Watan*, April 25, in *Al Arab Al Yowm*, one of Jordan's three major daily newspapers, May 8, and in the influential Beirut daily paper *An Nahar*, May 9. It was also published in Arabic in the Jordanian weekly *Assabeel*, April 25-30, one of the country's largest-circulation magazines, and in the Kuwaiti weekly magazine *Al-*

Mujtamaa, May 26. The IHR Open Letter also appeared in at least two on-line Arab periodicals, *Aljareeda* and *Al Shaab*. (The IHR's Open Letter is posted on the "Beirut 2001" section of the IHR web site, along with numerous press reports on the on-going Middle East struggle for revisionism.)

Television Breakthrough

On the evening of May 15, coincidentally the fifty-third anniversary of the founding of Israel, Holocaust revisionism was the subject of the popular current affairs show, *Opposite Directions*, broadcast on the Arabic-language satellite television channel "Al Jazeera." Free of government control or censorship, this independent channel is well regarded across the Arab world, reaching some thirty million viewers from Morocco to Bahrain.

Representing the anti-revisionist view on the live, two-hour show was a Tunisian intellectual who lives in Paris, Al Afif Lakhdar, who defended the March statement by the fourteen Arab intellectuals. The show's main revisionist speaker was Hayat Atiyeh, who had addressed the May 13 JWA meeting in Amman. She spoke effectively, making her points with lucid arguments and convincing references. Displaying photographs of Palestinian victims of Zionist oppression, she told viewers: "This is the real holocaust. The other one is a fake." Atiyeh also showed a photograph of Robert Faurisson after a nearly fatal attack against him by Jewish thugs, as well as photos of an attack against a book store in Paris that sold revisionist books.

Ibrahim Alloush participated by telephone, explaining the importance of revisionism to Arabs. Also joining the discussion by telephone, Robert Faurisson deftly rebutted Lakhdar's argument that Arabs would lose support in the United States and Europe if they embraced Holocaust revisionism. "If you want to avoid any trouble with Zionists," said Faurisson, "surely it is better to forget about discussing the Holocaust."

During the broadcast, viewers were invited to respond to an on-line poll on the "Al Jazeera" web site. Viewers could respond affirmatively to one of three questions:

1. Do you think that Zionism is worse than Nazism?
2. Do you think that Zionism is the same as Nazism?
3. Do you think that Zionism is better than Nazism (not as bad)?

The results, made public at the conclusion of the broadcast, showed that more than 84 percent thought that Zionism is worse than Nazism, over 11 percent think that Zionism is the same as Nazism, and only 2.7 percent think that Zionism is better, or not as bad, as Nazism.

As even the show's moderator declared, the broadcast was a resounding victory for the revisionists.

A Legacy of Skepticism

In spite of the worldwide, decades-long Holocaust campaign, enforced in several European countries with laws that criminalize "Holocaust denial," millions of people around the world have never accepted the claim of six million Jewish wartime victims. Thirty-seven years ago, for example, Egyptian president Gamal Abdel Nasser said in an interview that "No one, not even the simplest man in our country, takes seriously the lie about six million murdered Jews."[4]

In 1996-1998 this skepticism was manifest in an outpouring of support, especially from Arab and Muslim countries, for French scholar Roger Garaudy when he was indicted and then punished for daring to challenge Holocaust claims in his book on *The Founding Myths of Modern Israel*. Mohamed Heikal, for decades perhaps the most influential journalist in the Arab world, endorsed the revisionist view of the Holocaust issue in his foreword to the Arabic edition of Garaudy's controversial book.[5]

As the growing trend among the Arabs suggests, popularly and scholarly revisionist rejection of the Holocaust is going to play an increasing role in the moral and intellectual struggle against Zionism, Israel, and their founding myths.

Notes

1. Rami Khouri, a Palestinian journalist based in Amman and former editor of the Jordan Times, in "A View from the Arab World," *Toronto Globe and Mail*, May 22, 2001, p. A15.
2. Yossi Klein Halevi, "Dance of Death Overtakes the Arab World," *Los Angeles Times*, May 15, 2001.
3. Elli Wohlgelernter, "In a State of Denial," *Jerusalem Post*, June 12, 2001.
4. Nasser interview with the *Deutsche (Soldaten und-) National-Zeitung* (Munich), May 1, 1964, p. 3. Quoted in: Robert S. Wistrich, *Hitler's Apocalypse* (London: 1985), p. 188.
5. "Heikal's Foreword to the Arabic Edition of Garaudy's Founding Myths," *Journal of Historical Review*, November-December 2000, pp. 30-35.

No to Censorship! No to Bigotry!

An Open Letter to Fourteen Arab Intellectuals

April 10, 2001
To:
Adonis (Ali Ahmad Said)
Mahmoud Darwish
Mohammed Harbi
Elias Khoury
Gerard Khoury
Salah Stetie
Mohamad Berada
Jamel Eddine Ben Sheikh
Edward W. Said
Dominique Edde
Fayez Mallas
Farouk Mardam-Bey
Khalida Said
Elias Sanbar

Recently you issued a public statement calling on authorities in Lebanon to ban the "Revisionism and Zionism" conference in Beirut, scheduled for March 31 through April 3, which our Institute had been helping to organize. (This was reported, for example, in *Le Monde*, March 16.)

Your call came shortly after three major Jewish-Zionist organizations — the World Jewish Congress, the Anti-Defamation League and the Simon Wiesenthal Center — denounced the meeting and demanded that Lebanon forbid it. Not surprisingly, Israel's ambassador in France publicly praised your statement.

Together with the United States and other foreign governments, these three Jewish groups put pressure on Lebanon to ban the four-day meeting. In response, Lebanon's prime minister announced on March 22 that the "Revisionism and Zionism" conference would not be permitted.

Your call to Lebanese authorities to forbid a peaceful, privately-organized meeting of scholars, writers and researchers that would be perfectly legal in most countries, including the United States, is a blow against the cause of freedom, peace and justice.

You condemned the conference before knowing anything about the content of the lectures or, apparently, even the identities of the speakers.

Your statement insultingly implies that Lebanese lack the discernment to make an intelligent, informed decision on their own about 20th century history. Everyone should have the right to make an informed decision about revisionist arguments. There should not be one standard of free speech in most of the world's nations, and another, inferior one for Arabs.

You justified your call for censorship by claiming that our conference would be "anti-Semitic." This is pathetic, considering how readily defenders of the Zionist state have hurled this cheap epithet at those who oppose Israel's criminal policies.

For more than 20 years our Institute has consistently opposed bigotry, censorship and repression in striving to promote greater historical awareness.

Speakers at our meetings and contributors to our *Journal of Historical Review* have included respected scholars from around the world, including Palestinian historian Issa Nahkleh, author of the two-volume *Encyclopedia of the Palestine Problem*, and Sami Hadawi, author of *Bitter Harvest: Palestine 1914-1979*.

Other IHR conference speakers have included Pulitzer-prize-winning American historian John Toland, author of several best-selling works of history; John Bennett, noted Australian civil liberties attorney and president of the Australian Civil Liberties Union; and former U.S. Congressman Paul "Pete" McCloskey.

The IHR publishes an authoritative English-language edition of *The Founding Myths of Modern Israel*, the powerful expose by French scholar Roger Garaudy that has earned praise from across the Arab world.

Is it your view that such individuals should not be permitted to speak anywhere, or just not in Lebanon, or just not at a meeting organized by the IHR? Is your call for censorship limited to Lebanon, or may we expect calls from you to ban similar meetings in France, Canada, the United States, and other countries? Consistent with your call to ban the "Revisionism and Zionism" meeting, may we now expect your support for censorship of revisionist books, magazines and broadcasts?

We are proud of the backing we have received from people of the most diverse political views and ethnic and religious backgrounds. At the 13th IHR Conference held last May in southern California, a featured speaker was John Sack, who is Jewish. A report by this veteran American journalist and author based on his participation in our three-day meeting appeared in the February 2001 issue of *Esquire* magazine. Rejecting the often-repeated lie that the IHR and the revisionists are "haters" or bigots, Sack described those who spoke at and attended the IHR conference as "affable, open-

minded, intelligent [and] intellectual." He also affirmed that numerous revisionist arguments and findings are, indeed, true.

Around the world awareness is growing that the Holocaust campaign is a major weapon in the Jewish-Zionist arsenal, that it is used to justify otherwise unjustifiable Israeli policies, and as a powerful tool for blackmailing enormous sums of money from Americans and Europeans. Even a few courageous Jewish writers have spoken out against what they call the "Holocaust cult," the "Holocaust racket," "Holocaustomania," and the "Holocaust industry."

In working to promote greater public awareness of history, the IHR has pointed out that Jewish-Zionist distortions of the past are not confined to the history of Palestine and the Middle East, but include historical lies about 20th century European history. Palestinians may be the most obvious victims today of Jewish-Zionist lies about history, but they are by no means alone. Millions of Europeans have also been victims of similar distortions of the past, most notably through the Holocaust campaign. But we must reject all such historical lies, rooted as they are in contempt for non-Jewish humanity, whether about the Middle East or Europe or the United States.

If the revisionist view of the Holocaust were really as simplistic and mistaken as our critics suggest, it would not have gained the support of university professors such as Arthur Butz and Robert Faurisson, historians such as Roger Garaudy and Harry Elmer Barnes, and former concentration camp inmates such as Paul Rassinier. These individuals did not decide publicly to reject the orthodox Holocaust story — thereby risking public censure, and worse — because they are fools, or because their motives are evil, but rather on the basis of a sincere and thoughtful evaluation of the evidence.

Instead of endorsing a statement that only serves Israel and Zionist interests, you should be speaking out on behalf of the victims of bigotry and oppression.

In a number of countries, those who dispute Holocaust claims are treated as criminals — fined and imprisoned for their non-violent views, even for statements that are demonstrably true. Moreover, numerous revisionists have been physically attacked for their views. One was murdered. Even here in the United States, revisionists have been beaten, assaulted and blacklisted. Our Institute has repeatedly been a target of hate and violence. In July 1984 our offices were burned down in a devastating arson attack, a crime for which no one was ever arrested.

In 1980, Jewish-American scholar Noam Chomsky showed great courage in publicly defending free speech for Holocaust skeptics. In spite of intense criticism, he never repudiated that stand — which is, of course, the only ethically defensible one that an honest intellectual can take. Now, some 21 years later, you have shamefully lent your names to a call for state repression of dissident historians.

Coming to grips with history, even with the emotion-laden Holocaust issue, demands open, reasoned debate, not name-calling and censorship. Your contemptible support for censorship of revisionist scholars will be remembered as a blot on your reputations.

We ask you to reconsider it.

Sincerely,

Mark Weber

Director, Institute for Historical Review

INTERVIEW

A Conversation with Dr. Ibrahim Alloush

Ibrahim Alloush is a journalist and university lecturer in Amman, Jordan. A regular columnist for the weekly Jordanian newspaper Assabeel, *he is active in the Jordanian Writers and in the Association against Zionism and Racism (AZAR). He is also editor of the Free Arab Voice web site (www.fav.net). Dr. Alloush lived for thirteen years in the United States. He earned graduate degrees at Ohio University and Oklahoma State University, where he earned a doctorate in economics. In his student days in America, he supported himself partly by "flipping burgers, mopping floors, and delivering pizza."*

EDITOR: Nearly a decade ago the Moroccan revisionist Ahmed Rami said that in proselytizing Muslims, Holocaust revisionists were pushing on an open door. In other words, Muslims already mistrusted everything Jews and Zionists said and did—so why make an exception for the Holocaust hoax? Was Rami correct? If so,

why have Arabs and Muslims recently begun to investigate and reject the Holocaust imposture?

IBRAHIM ALLOUSH: Of course, the Arab public is distrustful of anything the Zionists say or do, and of the Western media in general. However, distrust in and of itself cannot be a satisfactory political defense. Distrust in this context means two specific things: 1) that Zionists and the Western media would have a hard time convincing Arabs of the "Holocaust," and 2) that revisionists would have an easier time with the Arab public than with the Western public. But distrust doesn't mean that the Arab public is forever immune to the myths of the "Holocaust," or that revisionists need not work to bring revisionism to the Arabs.

Many revisionists are jubilant because in the last few months their cause, work, and struggles have been relatively well publicized in the Arab world. Nevertheless, there is a negative aspect to this development as well. In the past several months, we have discovered that the mythology of the "Holocaust" has made far-reaching inroads among Arab intellectuals at the highest levels, and that this mythology has established solid footholds amongst Arabs living in the West and among westernized Arabs in the Arab world. This is a very dangerous development. It arose in the atmosphere of defeatism that prevailed throughout the Arab world in the 1990s, an atmosphere that formed the backdrop for efforts to Zionize the Arab mind by, among other things, spreading the myths of the "Holocaust."

Thus, strategically speaking, Arabs are now on the defensive, if one looks beyond the recent progress of revisionism in the Arab world. You have prominent Arab intellectuals now actively proclaiming the "Holocaust" religion from the rooftops: this would have been unimaginable not long ago. You have the largest circulating Arab daily, *Al Hayat* of London, actively spreading "Holocaust" myths: until recently this would have unimaginable. You have Arab governments succumbing to Zionist pressures to ban revisionist conferences: earlier this would have been unimaginable, if only out of concern for their popular image.

Surely, there is still a great deal of distrust towards anything Zionist in the Arab world, as far as the average citizen is concerned. But that is not enough. Without more sophisticated defenses, i.e., without historical revisionism, the campaign to Zionize the Arab mind is likely to gain even more ground. Distrust cannot possibly substitute for serious political or historical education. This is even more relevant nowadays, since the Zionists choose to speak through the voices of certain prominent Arab intellectuals. What we need therefore is a coherent, principled, cognizant response to the campaign to Zionize the Arab mind. Therein lies the promise of historical revisionism for us Arabs, and the importance of the work of revisionists like Ahmed Rami and his colleagues.

After consolidating their gains in the West, the Zionists have essentially succeeded in bringing the battle to the Arab collective psyche through such Trojan horses as the fourteen Arab intellectuals who signed the petition to ban the conference on "Zionism and Revisionism" in Beirut. When persons such as Edward Said and Mahmoud Darwish, who occupy so estimable a stature in the Arab intellectual realm, openly embrace the religion of the "Holocaust," this means that the cancer of the "Holocaust" has metastasized outside the West. We cannot rely only on natural Arab defenses, as strong as these may be, to fight this cancer. We must resort to more conscious means of resistance, hence, historical revisionism.

On the other hand, the above analysis would be incomplete if it were not pointed out that those Arabs who embrace the "Holocaust" have lost significant political credit in the last few months, in exact proportion to the ascendancy of revisionism in the Arab world. These people have chosen to become the purveyors of an intellectual virus naturally rejected by the Arab mind. By so doing, they have either risked self-alienation by sincerely embracing the "Holocaust," or have lost a great deal of respect by seeming to espouse the "Holocaust" for opportunistic reasons. In this context, please be aware that certain Arabs who are spreading the "Holocaust" myths welcome direct attacks from revisionists or other Arabs, since they hope to use such attacks for benefits and privileges from the West and the Zionists.

EDITOR: How did you first encounter Holocaust revisionism?

ALLOUSH: My first encounter with it was through Roger Garaudy's *Founding Myths*, then through hearing a couple of lectures by Pierre Guillaume. In this regard, I would like to make a point about how revisionists operate. The most important revisionist works are volumes written in abstruse language that is difficult for the average person, whether in the West or in the Arab world. We should learn from what Roger Garaudy

did in *Founding Myths*. Painstaking research findings are not enough: revisionist findings should be popularized in pamphlets and articles directed to the average person, who has neither the time nor the background to delve into thick volumes. The research findings of historical revisionism can only become politically effective if they reach the people. Therefore, revisionist work should proceed along two parallel lines: the serious academic work of debunking the "Holocaust" myths, and the even more important work of popularizing revisionism. A division of labor is needed. The way in which Roger Garaudy's book was received shows the need for popular revisionism. He was not the foremost revisionist historian, but he was able to popularize revisionism in the Arab world, because he was able to simplify revisionism and to connect it to current political events.

The other lesson from the experience of the Garaudy book lies in recognizing the relevance of revisionism beyond its traditional boundaries. Since revisionism is not an ideology, but a method of historical research, it is crucial that revisionism obtain spokespersons from across the ideological spectrum, from the extreme left to the extreme right. As a Muslim, Roger Garaudy was able to reach many who were inaccessible to revisionists before. Now revisionists may revise the Second World War out of different ideological motives, but they all abide by a certain scientific logical structure in their work. What I am suggesting here is that efforts be made to reach people from different continents, races, and ideological affiliations. For example, in the Arab world, many supporters of revisionism are leftists. For them, the myths of the "Holocaust" are associated with rationalizing Zionist and imperialist hegemony in the Arab world, and exposing the "Holocaust" is associated with resisting that hegemony. To be sure, there are many leftists, Muslims, Catholics, Jews, et al. amongst revisionists already. However, these elements are overshadowed by a myth that Zionists spread about revisionists: that they are all Nazi sympathizers seeking to justify Nazi crimes. More efforts need to be made to speak to each people in its own idiom, just as the Zionists do. I, for one, consider myself totally opposed to any form of racism and racialist ideology, including Nazism. Yet it is precisely that perspective which makes me oppose the most important form of racism and racist ideology prevailing in the world today: Zionism. As one of the ideological bulwarks of Zionist power, the "Holocaust" must be exposed. I should add that many of those who claim to be anti-Nazi have colonial and racist track records that surpass that of the Nazis by any objective standard. Furthermore, many use the banner of anti-Nazism today to spread their colonial tentacles across the globe, and that is the more current threat: Zionism and racism hiding behind the banner of anti-Nazism.

EDITOR: What was your initial opinion of Holocaust revisionism?

ALLOUSH: It introduced me to a new aspect of the Arab-Zionist conflict, and, more important, it helped me understand much better why public opinion in the West supports Zionists and ignores Palestinian suffering. I realized that those times I had seen the "Holocaust" brought up to eclipse Palestinian Arab suffering at the hands of Zionists were part of a central Zionist strategy, not mere aberrations or excesses of misguided souls.

Of course, I have learned a lot more, especially in the last few months. But there is still so much more to learn. I have been especially intrigued by the ideological variety among revisionists. I think this variety should be highlighted, not suppressed, because it dispels the myth that revisionists are a monolithic group of Nazi sympathizers.

EDITOR: What are the most common objections among Arabs to Holocaust revisionism?

ALLOUSH: Some of the most common objections to revisionism in the Arab world arise out of considerations of political expediency. These objections typically come in the form of the claim that "Holocaust" revisionism alienates public opinion in the West because whether the "Holocaust" is true or not, Westerners believe in it. So we are better off just "going with the flow," or "getting with the program." A variation on this is the shrewd political strategy of the ostrich: simply to avoid the subject altogether. "The events of the Second World War are not relevant to us. We don't want to get into it. Then it will just go away!" Or, in a more sophisticated variation of the ostrich strategy, one that has gained ground recently: "Let's pay lip service to the myths of the 'Holocaust' to avoid trouble, but let's work as hard as possible to dissociate the 'Holocaust' from such political applications as its justifying the settling of alleged 'Holocaust' survivors in Palestine, justifying Zionist violations of international law, and justifying Western financial, political, and military support for

the Zionist movement." This is basically an adaptation of [Norman] Finkelstein's approach. Predictably, it prompts Arabs to parrot "Holocaust" myths, without necessarily succeeding in dissociating these myths from the political applications which the "Holocaust" was invented to serve. The most frequent objection, however, echoes the cliché that associating with revisionists would stigmatize us as Nazi sympathizers, and thus discredit our cause.

EDITOR: How do you answer these objections?

ALLOUSH: Many of these objections were tackled in recent issues of the Free Arab Voice (www.fav.net). But, very briefly, it should be made clear that revisionists neither deny nor condone the deaths of Jews during the Second World War. However, the "Holocaust" ceased long ago to be about the Jews who died in that war. The "Holocaust" is about Zionist power and policies. As stated, the "Holocaust" myths serve specific objectives: justifying Zionist settlement in Palestine; cultivating a guilt complex in the West over the "Holocaust" as the result of Western anti-Semitism; mobilizing Western public opinion behind financial, political, and military support for the Zionist movement; and condoning Zionist infractions of international law under the pretext that the wartime deaths of the Jews were unique and unparalleled in human history!

The problem, however, is that one cannot separate the "Holocaust" from its political objectives. The "Holocaust" is the ideological arm of the Zionist movement. Given its political power and reach, it has to be confronted. You can yield to it or you can face it down, but you cannot pretend, as some would have us do, that it doesn't exist. Accepting 1) that five or six million Jews died in the Second World War, 2) as a result of a deliberate Nazi policy of genocide, 3) in alleged gas chambers — the essence of the "Holocaust" accusation, today includes attributing responsibility to the entire non-Jewish world for this allegedly singular event — and accepting, to compensate for it, that the "survivors" deserve a new homeland, that the "Holocaust" can be invoked as an extenuating circumstance every time the Zionists commit crimes against humanity, and so on.

On the other hand, putting the wartime Jewish deaths in the proper context has no such political implications. It should be made clear then that several hundred thousand Jews did die in the Second World War, along with tens of millions of others; that there was no Nazi policy to exterminate the Jews, but rather one of deportation, including deportation to Palestine; and that there were no gas chambers, but instead crematoria, used to incinerate the bodies of those, of all nationalities and religions, who died from all causes, but chiefly disease. Note that the above, while not condoning Nazi practices — especially, from the Arab standpoint, the deportation of Jews to Palestine — puts the wartime deaths of Jews in proper perspective, and eliminates all political implications with the power of the truth. The Jewish losses were not unique, and didn't happen in an unprecedented way. They don't justify a guilt complex in the West, and do not justify any favoritism whatsoever for the Jews. Thus, contrary to the political short-sightedness of those who think that revisionist arguments revolve merely around statistics (refuting the six million figure), the truth about how, how many, and why Jews died in the Second World War can liberate humanity from the extortion of the high priests of the "Holocaust" religion. Until that happens, accepting the received version of the "Holocaust" necessarily implies accepting its political implications. Criticizing the "Holocaust" industry, on the other hand, purports merely to preserve "Holocaust" myths from the excesses of its high priests. It does not deter the Zionist strategy of the "Holocaust" from its political objectives.

EDITOR: What of the accusation that associating with revisionists would stigmatize Arabs as Nazi sympathizers and discredit their cause in the West, especially in the light of the fact that El Haj Amin al Husseini cooperated with Germans?

ALLOUSH: Let's set the historical record straight. The cooperation between Zionists and Nazis preceded that of El Haj Amin al Husseini with Nazi Germany by many years. In fact, the main purpose of El Haj Amin al Husseini's contacts with the Germans was to thwart their support for the Zionists. Between 1933 and 1938, the Nazis were on decidedly good terms with the Zionists, as evidenced by the Haavara agreement, which facilitated Jewish immigration to Palestine as well as economic and logistical support through Jewish capital. In 1938, the Nazis decided to take a more balanced approach towards the Arabs, while maintaining their cooperation with the Zionists; El Haj Amin tried to use this opening to put an end to Nazi support for Zionists. Evidently his strategy eventually bore fruit, since Nazi-Zionist cooperation came to an end around 1942. If cooperation with the Nazis is the criterion for con-

demning El Haj Amin, then the Zionists were guiltier by far than El Haj Amin al Husseini. Nazi-Zionist cooperation was the direct precursor of al Husseini's cooperation with the Germans, in addition to British support for the Zionists, of course.

EDITOR: Is there any leader or faction who is or might be most disposed to champion Holocaust revisionism in your part of the world?

ALLOUSH: To the best of my knowledge, most Arab regimes and leaders would not dare embrace "Holocaust" revisionism openly. However, it enjoys a great deal of support among the people, the intellectuals, the activists, and even among officials of Arab regimes, so long as they don't have to profess it openly. When revisionist ideas have been presented, the people have been extremely receptive. The Arab world is fertile ground for revisionist seeds. Still, much work is needed, as mentioned above.

EDITOR: Holocaust revisionism seems to be alive, and growing, among Muslims and Arabs of many nationalities, from Morocco to India, but it would seem that it should be flourishing above all among the Palestinians, who are the chief victims of the Holocaust racket and whose own experiences most parallel those claimed by the Jews. How is Holocaust revisionism faring among Palestinians at home and in exile?

ALLOUSH: If it weren't for a few Palestinian and Arab intellectuals, revisionism would be dominant among Palestinians. In fact, Arabs and Palestinians who embrace "Holocaust" myths in the Arab world do so with a very low profile. In the nineties, Arafat tried to proclaim his belief in the "Holocaust," but everyone, including the Zionists, realized that he was doing so for tactical reasons. There has been one Palestinian political group on the left which seems to be emitting signals indicating its timid embrace of the "Holocaust" religion. I shall refrain from naming this group because it has yet to take a public stand to that effect, although many of its supporters have been criticizing our revisionist efforts. Still, many Palestinians who reside in Western nations have either imbibed the myths of the "Holocaust" wholeheartedly, or simply pay tribute to such myths to avoid clashes with the mainstream.

EDITOR: Based on your own experiences in America as a student and as an academic, do you have any advice for readers of the *Journal* on how best to educate their fellow Americans on the Palestine question and the Holocaust myth?

ALLOUSH: I think the most important thing for revisionists in the next stage of their work is to shatter the Zionist accusation that the purpose of revisionist work is to whitewash Nazism. They should establish beyond reasonable doubt that the purpose of their work is to promote truth and justice. To accomplish that, they need to reach out to people from across the ideological spectrum, from many races and continents. In addition, as it stands now, revisionism has too many prophets and not enough preachers. The next step will be to popularize revisionism, and to bring it the non-Western world.

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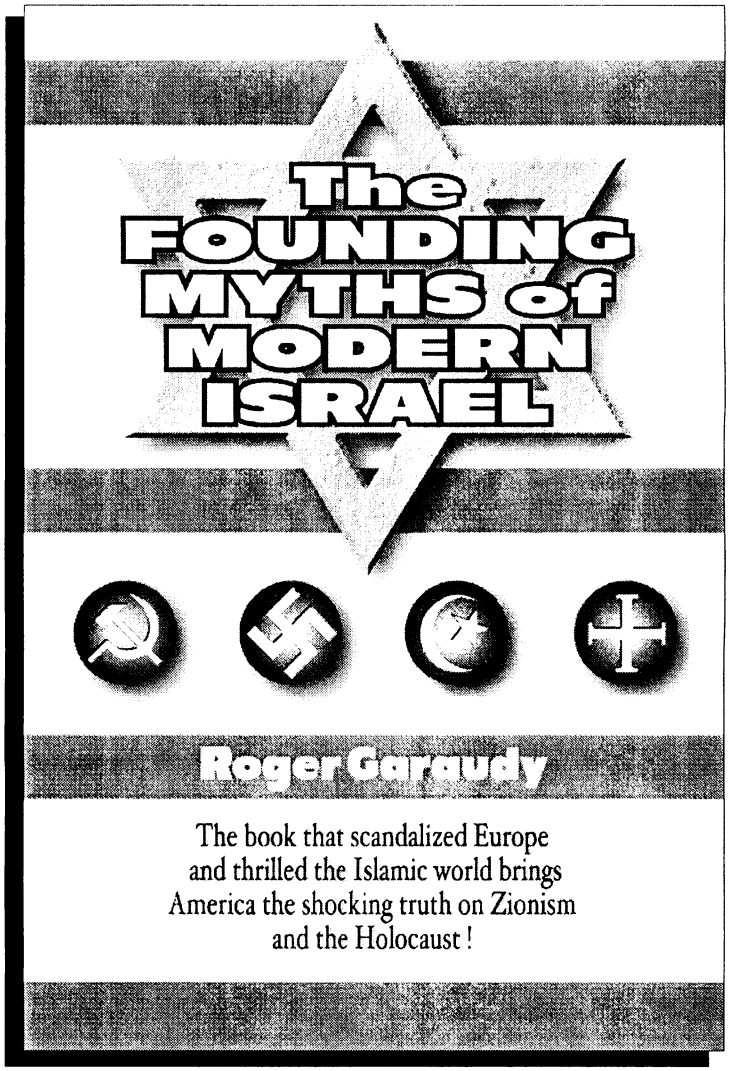

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It's Time the Arab Leaders Ended Their Silence on the 'Holocaust' Imposture

ROBERT FAURISSON

Five introductory remarks:

1. I do mean "the leaders," and not: "the intellectuals, the academics, the journalists," some of whom have already expressed themselves on the matter;
2. The word "Holocaust" (always to be placed in quotation marks) designates the triple myth of the alleged genocide of the Jews, the alleged Nazi gas chambers, and the alleged number of six million Jewish victims of the Second World War. In the course of a history full of fury, blood, and fire, humanity has known a hundred holocausts, that is, appalling losses of human life or bloody catastrophes (presented, at the origin of the word's use in this manner, as a sort of offering demanded by some superior forces); but our contemporaries have been conditioned to keep in mind only one holocaust, that of the Jews; it is written today with a capital letter, and has become unique: there is no longer the need to add "of the Jews." None of the previous holocausts has given rise to any financial indemnity, reparation, or compensation to match that which the Jews have claimed and obtained for a catastrophe, or "Shoah," which they describe as unique and unprecedented, and which would indeed be so if its three components (genocide, Nazi gas chambers, and six million victims) had been real. If many European Jews suffered and died during the war, without that suffering amounting to what today's Jews mean by the term "Holocaust," many other peoples and communities, in particular the Germans, the Japanese, the Russians, and the Chinese, suffered, in reality, a fate far worse than that of the Jews; let us but think of the phosphorous- or nuclear-fueled firestorms in which at least a million Germans and Japanese met an atrocious death (and what of the wounded and mutilated?). It is, moreover, fitting to add that millions of European Jews survived this alleged policy of physical extermination to go on to enjoy, after the war, a power and a prosperity without precedent in their history. To privilege, as is thus done nowadays, the alleged "Holocaust" is to inflate Jewish suffering beyond all measure in both quality and quantity and to reduce, in direct proportion, the

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Robert Faurisson is Europe's foremost Holocaust revisionist scholar. Born in 1929, educated at the Sorbonne, Professor Faurisson taught at the University of Lyon from 1974 until 1990. Specializing in close textual analysis, Faurisson won widespread acclaim for his studies of poems by Rimbaud and Lautréamont. After years of private research and study, Faurisson revealed his skepticism of the "Holocaust" gas chambers in articles published in 1978 and 1979 in the French daily *Le Monde*. He has written numerous articles on all aspects of the "Holocaust," many of which have appeared in this journal. A four-volume collection of many of his revisionist writings, *Écrits Révisionnistes* (1974-1998), was published in 1999.

This article is slightly adapted from Dr. Faurisson's lecture for delivery to the projected March 2001 Beirut conference on revisionism and Zionism, which was cancelled by the Lebanese government under Jewish pressure.

suffering of all others, none of whose ordeals receives even so much as a specific name;

3. Imposture is an imposed lie; here it is a question of a historical lie, meaning that, forged by liars or fabricators of outlandish tales, it has subsequently been adopted by an ever-expanding number of people who, in good faith or bad, have peddled it; in the event, we are thus dealing with a tiny number of liars and a plethora of peddlers;
4. The opposite of such a lie, fabricated or peddled, is the factual truth. Still, as the word "truth" is vague and overused, I prefer "exactitude." Revisionism consists in trying to examine and correct what is generally accepted, with a view to establishing with exactitude the nature of an object; the reality of a fact; the worth of a figure; the authenticity, the veracity, and the import of a text or document;
5. Zionism is an ideology, while revisionism is a method. As a revisionist I shall be making a judgment less of Zionism itself (at the dawn of the twenty-first century) than on the use which it makes of the "Holocaust" imposture.

If the leaders of the Muslim states planned to quit their silence on this imposture and if, in so doing, they put a challenge to the Jewish and Zionist lobby, they would obviously need first a) to assess the adversary correctly, then b) to decide on an appropriate strategy and, finally, c) to determine the exact area on which to concentrate their attacks. To discuss these three points, I shall divide my talk into three parts.

In a first part, in order to avoid any mistakes as to the opponents' identity and to ensure that they are correctly sized up, I shall expound on what are, in my view, the seeming weak points of the Jews and Zionists, then on their true weak points. In a second part, concerning the strategy to adopt, I shall sum up certain conclusions that I reached, in November 2000, during my visit to Teheran, in the company of representatives of the Center of Strategic Studies of the Islamic Republic of Iran. Finally, in a third part, I shall designate the precise target to hit: "the magical Nazi gas chamber" (as Louis-Ferdinand Céline put it).

I. The Jewish and Zionist Adversary

A deceitful adversary may display fears that he does not really feel. He may expose to the view of all certain weak points which in fact are not such and try to hide what it is that causes him real disquiet. In so doing he will be attacked where it does not bother him in the least, and be spared an attack that would truly do him harm. Here, the adversary is almost indifferently Jewish or Zionist. The Jews are undeniably diverse ("Two Jews, three synagogues," says the Yiddish proverb) and, politically speaking, they have never formed a single bloc, not even against Hitler; but, without Jews, there is no Zionism ("Zionism is to the Jew what the hammer is to the carpenter," as Ahmed Rami thinks) and, except for some rare instances, the Jew will feel solidarity with the Zionist and the Zionist with the Jew if both notice that their common "Holocaust" myth is in peril; this is why the distinction that usually deserves to be made between the two hardly belongs here.

a) The adversary's false fears and seeming weak points:

1. Despite their display of fear of a military attack on the state of Israel, the Zionists who rule that state and the Diaspora Jews who support them do not really dread the enemy's military strength, for they know that the enemy in question will always be outclassed by the Israeli army, thanks to the technology and money supplied from abroad, especially by the Americans and the Germans;
2. They do not really fear the variety of anti-Judaism improperly called anti-Semitism; on the contrary, they feed on it; they need to be able to cry out against anti-Semitism, if only to collect more money in the Diaspora; in general, moaning is of vital necessity to them: "The more I sob, the more I get; the more I get, the more I sob";
3. Jews and Zionists are not really afraid of the Jewish denunciations of "Shoah business" and the "Holocaust industry" made by the Peter Novicks, Tim Coles, or Norman Finkelsteins, for there it is a matter, paradoxically, of more or less kosher denunciations in which care is taken to show reverence for the "Holocaust" itself; it will be noted, moreover, that if the industrial or commercial exploitation of the real or supposed sufferings of the Jews constitutes a lucrative line of business, criticism of this exploitation has over the last few years become another such line; but these two lines of business, especially the latter, happen to be strictly reserved for Jews; they are "off limits," and a Gentile who ventured to imitate Finkelstein in his denunciation of the "Holocaust" mafia would immediately be set upon by a pack of its watchful henchmen;
4. They do not really fear anti-Zionism as such; at times they even authorize its expression;
5. In particular, they have not much cause to worry about a now commonplace form of anti-Semitism which consists in attacking all of the founding

myths of Israel except that which has become essential for them: the "Holocaust";

6. They need not be anxious about accusations of racism, imperialism, and Judeo-Nazism since such accusations, even if at times founded, resemble ritual, mechanically uttered slogans, coined in outdated language. To see the Jews being compared to Hitler, then hear it said that the Zionists are, like the Nazis, carrying out a policy of "genocide" is not altogether disagreeable to the Jews and Zionists, for it serves to reinforce the images of Hitler and the Nazis that they themselves have succeeded in fabricating; this helps them to fix firmly in all minds the illusion, first and foremost, of a "genocide" of the Jews. In reality, Hitler was no more a monster, as his Jewish enemies claim, than was Napoleon an "ogre," as English propaganda used to have it. Although a racialist, and hostile to internationalist Jews (but not to Zionist ones), Hitler never ordered or allowed the killing of anyone on account of his or her race or religion; moreover, his military tribunals or courts martial meted out sentences — sometimes the death sentence — to German soldiers, officers, or civil servants who had been found guilty of killing a single Jewish man or woman (even in regard to acts committed, during the war, in Poland, Russia, or Hungary); here is a point of history that has been shrouded by the exterminationist historians and regrettably overlooked by revisionist authors. If Hitler had been such a monstrous racist as described, never would so prestigious an Arab and Muslim personality as the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem (the Palestinian Haj Amin al Husseini) have remained on his side until the end. Despite the episode of the Germano-Soviet pact (August 1939-June 1941), Hitler was essentially hostile to Stalinism and to what he called, because of the decisive Jewish contribution to Bolshevism, "Judeo-Bolshevism." The German soldier, like the European, Russian, Asian, or Muslim volunteer who fought beside him, had but Moscow-style Communism as his essential enemy;
7. Although they pretend the contrary, the Jews and Zionists laugh — not without reason — at those who talk of a "Jewish plot" or a "conspiracy of Auschwitz," since there is no "Jewish plot" (any more than a Masonic, Jesuit, papal, American, or Communist plot) but a Jewish power, or influence; in the same manner, there is no "Auschwitz conspiracy" but rather an Auschwitz lie; incidentally, ideas of plot or conspiracy, dear to the Jewish tradition, ought to remain the privilege of the latter; we should be wrong to turn to them.

b) The adversary's true fears and actual weak points:

1. In Israel-Palestine, Jews and Zionists truly fear the weapons of the poor (children's stones, their slingshots like that of David against the giant Goliath, the suicide attacks), and all that may endanger persons and business; they fear a demeaning of their image; they dread having to choose one day between the suitcase and the coffin;
2. But they are above all apprehensive of "the poor man's atomic bomb," that is, the disintegration, by historical revisionism, of the lie of the gas chambers, the genocide, and the six million; they dread this weapon that kills no one but that would not fail, if properly used, to explode their Big Lie like a bag of hot air;
3. They fear seeing revealed before the eyes of the world that it is the imposture of the "Holocaust" that permitted, in the wake of the Second World War, the creation in the land of Palestine of a Jewish colony called Israel, and this at a time when, throughout the globe (except in the Communist empire), a gigantic decolonization movement was well under way;
4. They know that to lose the "Holocaust" is to lose the sword and the shield of Israel as well as a formidable instrument of political and financial blackmail; Yad Vashem, which, in Jerusalem, is a "Holocaust" memorial and museum all in one (now undergoing expansion), is still more precious to them than the Wailing Wall; every foreign personality who visits Israel for political or financial dealings is, before all other business, obliged to call at this museum of horrors so as to be well imbued with a feeling of guilt which will render him more malleable; sometimes there is a dispensation from this formality for representatives of those rare nations which the Jews and Zionists, try as they might, cannot rebuke for an active or passive role in the alleged "Holocaust"; it is then amusing to notice the Israeli officials complaining about the difficulty in dealing with partners whom they have not been able to condition beforehand;
5. They are aware that "were the Holocaust shown to be a hoax, the number one weapon in Israel's propaganda armory disappears [*sic*]" (letter of W. D. Rubinstein, professor at Deakin University, Melbourne, in *Nation Review*, June 21, 1979, p. 639);
6. They know only too well of "the fact that, if the Holocaust can be shown to be a 'Zionist myth,' the

Haj Amin al Husseini (1895-1974) was the most important Palestinian leader of the first half of the twentieth century. Elected mufti of Jerusalem, the chief Muslim office in Palestine, in 1922, Amin defended his people against British colonial rule and Zionist incursions. After leading a Palestinian revolt against Britain's pro-Jewish policies, he fled to Lebanon in 1937. The Mufti's cooperation with Germany from late 1941 until the war's end came only after years of Nazi-Zionist collaboration. During this period Amin sought to rally the Arab world against the Allies, and helped enlist Muslim volunteers from the Balkans for the SS. Zionist propaganda continues to promote the lie that the Mufti was a vital cog in the alleged extermination of the Jews.

strongest of all weapons in Israel's propaganda armory collapses" (the same academic in "The Left, the Right and the Jews," *Quadrant*, September 1979, p. 27);

7. They nearly faint at the thought that the general public might finally learn of the sum of iniquities represented by all the purges: the cases brought in the style of the judicial masquerades of Nuremberg; the confessions extorted on the subject of gas chambers or gas vans which had, in fact, never existed; or the further confessions about implausible killings imputed to the Einsatzgruppen; the hunting down of old men, even patients in homes for the aged, more than half a century after their alleged crimes; the indoctrination of all minds, from primary school to university, in books, newspapers, on radio and television, on every continent, morning, noon, afternoon, evening, night; all this is accompanied by a fierce repression of the revisionists, carried on especially in a Germany subjugated to its conquerors (and with which no peace treaty has yet been signed); these revisionists have committed the awful crime of simply demanding the right to verify either staggering accusations devoid of proof or testimonies received as truthful, albeit in the absence of examination and cross-examination concerning the material nature of the purported facts and without, beforehand, a single investigation of the alleged weapon of the alleged crime;
8. To sum up, the nightmare of these Jews and Zionists would be to have to hear repeated everywhere a

certain sixty-word sentence pronounced on the air more than twenty years ago on Radio Europe 1, before the journalist Yvan Levaï, by a French revisionist, disciple of Paul Rassinier. Here is that sentence which, at the time, was to earn me a heavy fine in a Paris court:

> The alleged Hitlerite gas chambers and the alleged genocide of the Jews form one and the same historical lie, which has permitted a gigantic political and financial swindle the main beneficiaries of which are the state of Israel and international Zionism and whose main victims are the German people — but not their leaders — and the Palestinian people in their entirety.

II. How to Wage the Struggle to End This Silence

1. In November 2000, I spent a week in Iran at the invitation of the Center of Strategic Studies, a body directly attached to the office of the president of the Islamic Republic, Mr. Mohammed Khatami. I had no contact with the country's press, radio, or television, but only with a few personalities who were well-informed about revisionism. I delivered no public lecture but enjoyed an interview of several hours with the head of the Institute for Scientific Political Research, Professor Soroush-Nejad, and a few of his colleagues. There again, I was struck by the knowledge of revisionism that certain Iranians could have. At about that time, the Swiss revisionist Jürgen Graf made his appearance in Iran, and I am indeed pleased that, some months later, thanks to his intense activity and to the contacts which I, at my end, had maintained with the Iranian authorities after returning to France, the *Teheran Times* undertook the publication of a series of revisionist articles, the first of which was to bear the signature of Professor Soroush-Nejad.
2. In exchange for the information which I had been able to provide him, I asked my main partner in discussion within the Center why, up to the present, revisionism seemed not to have found much of an echo in the Arab and Muslim countries. He willingly listed eight reasons. Some of these, in light of the quite recent events in Palestine, appeared to each of us, by and by, to be no longer valid; others seemed to be imputable to misunderstandings; other reasons, in the end, unhappily retained all of their force, in particular the following: in the Western countries, who ought to preach by example before complaining of the silence of others, there were but a laughably small number of revisionists who had resolutely committed themselves, in their own names and without any reservations or skilful maneuvering, to following the road opened up by Rassinier;
3. I attempted to explain that this deplorable record was largely due to what one must call the fear (*metus Judaeorum*) inspired everywhere by the groaning and threatening Jew (which Cicero felt in 59 B.C.). I added that no political figure of today, be he Iranian, Lebanese, Chinese, or Japanese, could avoid feeling this fear in the face of a community so rich and powerful in the Western world that its leaders have the means with which, at any moment, to invade the media with their grievances and recriminations in order to demand, in the end, the economic boycott of whichever nation's leaders failed to make a rapid enough act of "repentance" or resisted Jewish demands;
4. I then went over the reasons why the leaders of the Muslim states must nonetheless, as a proper policy, quit their silence and how, in my opinion, they could do so. I shall not expound on those reasons here but shall in the following words sum up my feelings as to the path to follow: one or more of these leaders should cross the Rubicon resolutely and, above all, without the least thought of turning back. My long experience of the Jews or Zionists in this regard has convinced me that the hoaxers are disconcerted by the hardiness of anyone who dares to confront them in the open. Just as the false witness, if one can catch his glance, must be questioned eye to eye, so must the Edgar Bronfmans, the Elie Wiesels, the Simon Wiesenthals (the latter two hate and envy one another *more Judaico*), or the rabbis Marvin Hier and Abraham Cooper, be defied in direct proportion to their habitual threats;
5. I warned my hosts against the temptation to resort, be it only at the first stages, to a form of bastardized revisionism; here again, experience has proved that wet-dog revisionism leads to defeat. One must also, in order to take a firmly revisionist stand, be well acquainted with the physical, chemical, documentary, and historical argumentation of revisionism. I reminded them, for example, that the myth of the alleged Nazi gas chambers had already died on February 21, 1979, when, in the daily *Le Monde*, thirty-four French historians showed themselves to be unable to take up my challenge concerning the

Robert Faurisson (left) and Ahmed Rami inspect the former Dachau concentration camp. With informed input from Faurisson and other researchers, Rami, a former army officer who fled his native Morocco for Sweden after a coup against Morocco's venal, oppressive, and covertly pro-Zionist King Hassan II in 1972, has long promoted revisionism to Europeans and Arabs alike through his radio broadcasts and his multilingual website, www.radioislam.org.

technical impossibilities of those absurd chemical slaughterhouses. The general public is unaware of that event, just as it is unaware of the succession of defeats and debacles suffered by the "Holocaust" historians in their entirety since 1985 (the date of the first Zündel trial in Toronto). It is now up to the leaders of the Muslim states to bring out into the light of day information like this, which is still being kept under a bushel;

6. In these different countries, institutes of history, sociology, or political studies ought to equip themselves with a section specializing in historical revisionism. Research resources and archives would enable scholars from around the world who have been chased out of their respective countries' universities, centers of research, or libraries because of their revisionist opinions or tendencies to come to work at the side of their colleagues of the Muslim lands. The various ministries of education, research, culture, foreign affairs, and information would collaborate on this project of international scope;
7. If one takes into account the fact that the "Holocaust" religionists harbor and maintain not only lies but also hatred, it will seem appropriate to plan the establishment on an international level of a "movement against the imposture of the 'Holocaust' and for friendship among peoples";
8. It would be fitting to try to bring some equilibrium to the balance of forces in international relations by inviting the political or diplomatic personnel of the great powers to show more modesty; these people, who never spare the rest of the world their morality lessons, should be reminded that they themselves bow a bit too low before an international mafia that specializes in lies, swindles, and contempt for human rights; the so-called international community, which constantly invokes those rights, should re-establish them in the cases of revisionists before rebuking the Arab or Muslim countries for intolerance or obscurantism. Such accusations could easily be turned against those states which, intolerant of challenges to a legend become official history and now protected by special laws, forbid their citizens from casting light on certain historical subjects;
9. A new and powerful medium of information, the Internet, allows an accelerated diffusion of revisionism (see, in particular, the sites attributed to Ahmed Rami, with their sections in Arabic); here is a chance for the Arab and Muslim intellectuals, overly influenced by the dominant ideology in the Western universities where they have often been educated, to become detoxified from the "Holocaust" drug;
10. In sum, the feeling of grave disquiet shown by the Jewish and Zionist leaders in the face of both the Intifada of young Palestinians living in destitution and of the activities of revisionists possessing nowhere near the economic or financial resources at the disposal of the Great "Holocaust" Mafia reminds one of the ancestral fear that the rich feel in the face of the poor, the colonizers before the colonized, and the masters at the sight of their slaves. The Jewish and Zionist leaders groan, threaten, and strike. They see themselves as rich (never rich enough, of course), armed with all sorts of weapons (including blackmail and racketeering as well as military weapons), and they know how to make themselves feared by all the leaders of the most privileged nations; they are, in particular, aware that the German leaders are devoted to them, willing even to expend the blood of German soldiers

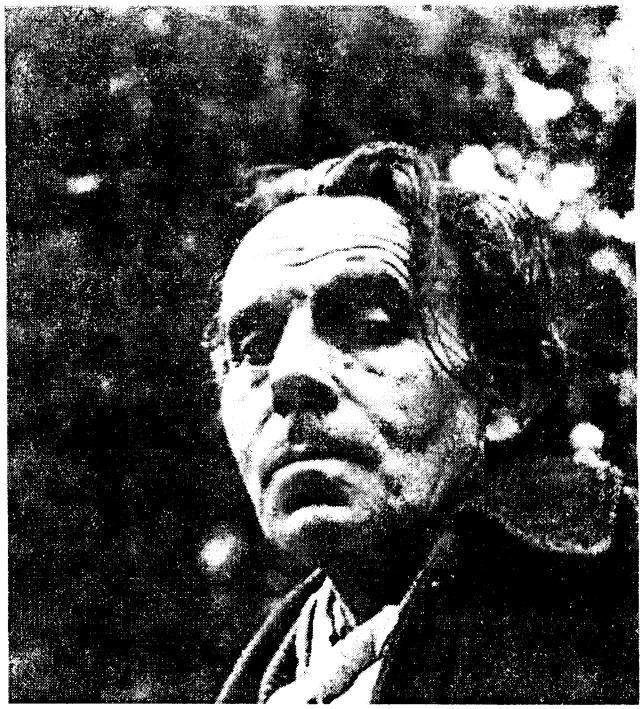
against the foes of Israel, and ready to intensify their repression of revisionism all the more unmercifully. Yet Jews and Zionists are haunted by the thought of having to confront the courage of those who no longer have anything to lose in the double Intifada, Palestinian and revisionist. The rich and mighty are enraged to see that they can be defied as they are by the Palestinians, armed only with stones, and by the revisionists, armed only with pens.

III. The Main Target: 'The Magical Gas Chamber' (Céline)

Let us learn to take aim. Let us not scatter our efforts. Let us apply ourselves to setting our attention on the center of the adversary's operation. The center of the huge edifice forming the religion of the "Holocaust" is none other than the Auschwitz lie. And the heart of the Auschwitz lie is, in turn, the prodigious "gas chamber." That is where we must aim. Placards waved by Palestinian or other Arab demonstrators bearing the words "The 'Holocaust' of the Jews is a lie," or "The six million are a lie," would of course worry the "extor-Zionists," but those formulations are still too vague; they are less vivid, less precise, and less striking than "The gas chambers are a lie."

No one is able to show us, at Auschwitz or anywhere else, even one of these chemical slaughterhouses. No one is capable of describing to us their exact appearance and workings. Neither a trace nor a hint of their existence is to be found. Not one document, not one study, not one drawing. Nothing. Nothing but some occasional, pitiful "evidence," which vanishes, like a mirage, as soon as one draws near, and which the Jewish historians themselves, in recent years, have finally been obliged to repudiate. Sometimes, as at Auschwitz, tourists are shown around an alleged "reconstituted" gas chamber, but the historians, and the Auschwitz museum authorities too, know quite well that, in the words of the French anti-revisionist historian Eric Conan, "*Everything in it is false*" ("Auschwitz : la mémoire du mal," *L'Express*, January 19-25, 1995, p. 68).

Still, the Jews are lucky. They are believed on their word. Almost nobody asks to see the technological prodigy that a Nazi gas chamber would have been, a veritable large-scale chemical slaughterhouse. Imagine that someone has told you about an airplane capable of transporting two or three thousand passengers from Paris to New York in one half hour (according to the exterminationist vulgate, in a single alleged gas chamber at Auschwitz, a batch of two or three thousand Jews could be killed in half an hour). Would you not, in order to begin to believe it, demand to see at least an image of something that would constitute a technological leap forward such as science has never known? Are we not in an age of exact sciences and of the audio-visual? Why this sudden shyness when it comes to our gas chamber?


Louis-Ferdinand Céline

The peddlers have an easy game. They show you the equivalent of either your garage or your shower and tell you: "Here is the place where the Germans gassed the Jews in groups of a hundred or a thousand." And you believe it. You are shown human hair like that which you could see at a barber's or a wig maker's and told, without the least proof, that it is the hair of gassing victims. You are offered shoes and they are labeled "shoes of gassing victims." You are presented with photographs of dead bodies and you believe that you see victims of gassing. You are made to shudder at the sight of crematory ovens which are in fact perfectly unexceptional. There exists a very simple means by which to show that we are being fooled about the prodigious yields of German crematory ovens in the 1940s: it is simply to compare them to the present-day yield of the most modern crematoria.

I also know an irrefutable way to prove that the alleged gas chambers for the killing of Jews with hydrogen cyanide gas could not have existed: it entails visiting today, as I myself did in 1979, the execution gas

chamber of an American penitentiary, or otherwise acquainting oneself with the highly complex nature of the gas chamber, its very complicated structure, and the quite draconian procedure of an execution by gassing, in the 1940s or '50s, in the prisons of Carson City, Nevada; Baltimore, Maryland; or Parchman, Mississippi; to be precise, those executions were and still are carried out with hydrogen cyanide gas. They are so dreadfully dangerous for the executioners that the putting to death of one individual requires drastic precautions and a most complex technology (quite aside from the recently achieved sophistication due either to technological progress or to a multitude of safety measures).

On the alleged Nazi gas chambers, let us listen to ... Céline! I hold Louis-Ferdinand Céline (1894-1961) to be the loftiest genius of French literature in the twentieth century. His force, his finesse, his clear-sightedness were incomparable. His life, unhappily, was largely one of hardship. From the day in 1937 when he began to display the fear of seeing a new world war flare up, he brought on his own doom. Seriously wounded during the First World War, he feared a new butchery with all his body and soul. France's Jews, for their part, did not see things that way. Most of their leaders clamored for a crusade against Hitler. Céline then condemned their feverish desire to punish Germany, their frantic warmongering. He foresaw the catastrophe, and later, when Great Britain and France had taken it upon themselves to go to war with Germany, he could only remark in what "fine bed-sheets" France was lying. In 1944, he narrowly escaped the summary justice then being administered, in particular, by Jews and Communists. He fled to Germany in its agony of the final months of the war, then to Denmark, where for nearly a year and a half he was imprisoned in the worst conditions. When he eventually returned to France, it was to live the life of an outcast. France is a particularly cruel land for its great writers. It is still the case today, sixty years after their respective publication in 1937, 1938, and 1941, that three of his works, masterly satires detested by the Jews, remain prohibited de facto. No law, in principle, prevents their republication, but everyone knows that the Jewish organizations would go on the warpath should Céline's widow, still living, authorize their appearance. Such is the unwritten law of the modern Talmud.

Other examples of this Jewish privilege are well known. Thus, to cite the case of an academic guilty of having once written a revisionist sentence, Bernard Notin has, since 1990, been prohibited from lecturing at his faculty at the University of Lyon. No law has been passed, no judicial or administrative decision has been issued, that would render this prohibition official. Today, at the same university, it is the turn of Professor Jean-Paul Allard to be branded with the mark of Cain for having presided, more than fifteen years ago, during the oral examination of a revisionist doctoral candidate. A great hue and cry has been mounted against Allard.

Formerly, if one remarked to the Jews that they tracked down the revisionists like wild animals, they would protest, boldly denying anything of the sort. But times have changed. The Jews no longer conceal this practice of theirs, and proudly assert responsibility for such violent actions. On March 1, 2001, the weekly *Actualité Juive* headed one of its articles: "La chasse à Jean-Paul Allard est ouverte" ("The Hunt for Jean-Paul Allard Is On"). The contents of the piece amounted to an incitement to kill. The Jewish organizations cynically intend to make themselves feared, and it is correct to say, today more than ever, *"metus regnat Judaeorum"* (fear of the Jews reigns). In Allard's case they seem to be reaching their goal: just recently, this professor, exhausted by the chase, has been hospitalized for a stroke and has lost his capacity for normal speech. Lately the Jews and their friends have also succeeded in attempts to have the revisionist Serge Thion, sociologist and historian of merit, removed from his post at the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS), and this by means of a procedure so openly arbitrary that the most arrogant of employers would not use it against his humblest employee, lest he have to pay heavy damages. I shall say nothing of the suffering endured by the revisionists who have fought openly, in their own name, the most admirable of them being, for his intelligence and his heart, in my view, the German Ernst Zündel. For forty years a resident of Canada, he has waged a titanic struggle against the international "Holocaust" lobby, aiming in particular to obtain justice for his maligned homeland. Without him revisionism would have continued to live in semidarkness. But one cannot swim up the Niagara Falls, and, in the face of an almighty coalition of political, financial, and judicial forces, Zündel has recently been obliged, in spite of several brilliant victories, to leave Canada. In his new exile, he continues, with the aid of his German-American wife, Ingrid Rimland, to fight for a just cause.

If, towards the end of this talk, I have called to mind the lofty figure of the author of *Journey to the End of Night*, it is because Céline, by one of his customary strokes of genius, had already suspected, just five years

after the war, that the alleged physical extermination of the Jews might be but a fable, a work of trickery. It must be said that from 1945 on, floods of Jews from Central Europe, who were thought to have been exterminated, headed for France, when they had not headed for other Western countries or for Palestine; in France, they had just reinforced a Jewish community of which four fifths were spared the wartime deportation measures. In November 1950, upon a reading of Paul Rassinier's first sizeable work, *Le Mensonge d'Ulysse*, Céline wrote to his friend Albert Paraz:

> Rassinier is certainly an honest man [...]. His book, admirable, is going to cause quite a stir — *after all*, it tends to cast doubt on the magical gas chamber! no small matter! A whole world of hatreds is going to be compelled to yelp at the Iconoclast! It was everything, the gas chamber! It permitted *everything*!

As for us, we can only admire this lucid and scintillating vision of things, this foresight.

Yes, the gas chamber really is "magical." As I have often remarked, no one, in the end, has proved capable of showing or even of drawing one in reply to my challenge, "Show me or draw me a Nazi gas chamber!" No one has been able to explain its operation to us. No one has been able to tell us how, at Auschwitz, the Germans could pour pellets of Zyklon B, a powerful hydrogen cyanide-based insecticide, into alleged holes made in the roof of the "gas chamber," for this alleged gas chamber (in reality, a cold storage room for corpses awaiting cremation) has, as a careful look at the ruins shows, never possessed even a single such orifice, a fact that has permitted me to state the four-word conclusion "No holes, no 'Holocaust'!" No one has been able to reveal to us the mystery, implied by the standard version, of how the Sonderkommando, the squads of Jews under the orders of the Germans, could enter that great gas chamber with impunity so soon after the alleged mass killings, to remove energetically, day after day, the thousands of corpses lying in tangled heaps.

Hydrogen cyanide gas is difficult to remove by ventilation, which is a time-consuming process; it penetrates and lingers within plaster, brick, concrete, wood, paint, and, above all, the skin and the mucus of humans; thus one could not enter, move about, and do such work in what would have been an ocean of deadly poison, handling corpses which, infused with that poison, would poison whoever touched them. It is, furthermore, well known to specialists in the field of disinfection (or disinfestation) that it is essential, in such an atmosphere, to avoid physical effort for, if such effort is made, the breathing quickens and the gas mask filter will then allow the poison to pass through, killing the wearer. Finally, no one has been able to instruct us as to how those amazing Jews of the Sonderkommando, ever dragging out the corpses of their co-religionists, could perform such exploits while eating and smoking (in one version of the "confession" ascribed to Rudolf Höss, the best known of the successive Auschwitz commandants); for, if one understands correctly, they did not even wear gas masks, and smoked amidst the noxious fumes of an explosive gas.

Like the imaginary flower dreamt of by the French symbolist poet Stéphane Mallarmé (1842-1898), who wrote of "the one missing from every bouquet," the Nazi gas chamber, capable of astounding work, is "missing from all reality." It remains truly magical, but of a sinister and nauseating magic; it is nothing other than a nightmare that dwells in Jewish brains, while, for their part, the high priests of the "Holocaust" work to make this gruesome illusion haunt the world for eternity, and to hold humankind in a state of near-hypnosis: their livelihood depends on it.

Céline is right again to add, on the subject of the magical gas chamber, that it is "no small matter!" In reality, as he says further on, it is everything and it permits *everything*. Without it, the "Holocaust" edifice would collapse totally. Pierre Vidal-Naquet, sorry herald of the anti-revisionist struggle, has himself acknowledged as much. Noting that some of his friends, grown weary of the struggle, were decidedly tempted to discard the cumbersome gas chambers without further ado, he beseeched them not to, and voiced this cry of alarm: "I beg your pardon: that would be to surrender in open country" ("Le Secret partagé," *Le Nouvel Observateur*, September 21, 1984, p. 80). The Nazi gas chamber is said to be the only tangible (but in fact impossible to find) evidence of a physical extermination (that never took place) and that is, moreover, brazenly described to us as having been concerted, planned, and of a monstrously industrial nature, with production yields worthy of the name "death factories."

Céline, finally, is right to conclude "A whole world of hatreds is going to be compelled to yelp at the Iconoclast!" For my part, I should add, more than half a century after that prognosis, or prophecy, that the yelps, increasingly deafening, have not ceased for an instant against those iconoclasts who are the revisionists. In today's France, the latter are labeled with the barbarous term "négationnistes," whereas they negate or deny nothing. On the contrary, at the end of their research,

they affirm that a gigantic historical imposture holds sway.

Conclusion

The revisionists haunt the days and nights of the upholders of Jewish law, and of those who Céline — again — called "the martyrs' trust." To revisionists who seek to defend themselves against it, the trust shows no mercy. It drives some to suicide, causes physical injury and disfigurement, it kills, or forces others into exile. It sets fire to houses and burns books. It has the police, the judges, the prison authorities do its bidding. It applies pressure, it extorts and steals. It sets the dogs of the press on us, it throws us out of our jobs, it heaps insults upon us. On our side, not one among us has ever, to my knowledge, struck one of these perpetual law enforcers. On April 25, 1995, in Munich, a German revisionist killed himself, burning himself alive. He meant this act to be a protest against "the Niagara of lies" showered upon his people. In his suicide letter, he stated his hope that the flames which consumed his body would burn as a beacon for the generations to come. The German police proceeded to arrest the persons who soon afterwards came to leave a bouquet at the spot where Reinhold Elstner had immolated himself. On May 13, 2000, the German political science professor Werner Pfeiffenberger, 58, ended his own life after having long endured a legal persecution launched against him by a Jewish journalist in Vienna, one Karl Pfeifer, who had detected a whiff of revisionism (called, of course, neo-Nazism) in the academic's writings.

The revisionists live a life of hardship, and the Palestinians are living a tragedy. In particular, many Palestinian children are destined for a sorrowful fate. Their Israeli killers are, on a modest scale, the worthy successors of the American air force, the military corps which, in all of a cruel human history, has contributed to killing, mutilating, disfiguring, or starving more children than any other, first in Germany and elsewhere in Europe, then in Japan, in Vietnam and in much of the rest of Asia, then in the Near and Middle East and in many other places in the world, whenever the American soldier receives from his superiors the order to hunt down a new "Hitler" and to prevent a new "genocide."

May the leaders of the Muslim states hear the Palestinians' and the revisionists' appeals! Our ordeals are similar and our Intifadas identical.

May those leaders finally end their silence on the biggest imposture of modern times: that of the "Holocaust"!

May they, especially, denounce the lie of the alleged Nazi gas chambers! After all, not one of the leaders on the winning side of the Second World War, despite their hatred of Hitler's Germany, stooped so low as to claim that such gas chambers had existed. During that war, in their speeches, as afterwards in their memoirs, not once did Churchill, or de Gaulle, or Eisenhower mention this diabolical horror which they surely saw propaganda agencies tirelessly peddling during the war. A quarter of a century ago, in a masterly book, the American professor Arthur Robert Butz called the grand imposture "the Hoax of the Twentieth Century." That century is over; now its hoax must vanish into the rubbish bins of history.

The tragedy of the Palestinians demands it, the ordeal of the revisionists makes it essential, and the cause of humanity as a whole makes it our historical, political, and moral duty: the Grand Imposture must be condemned. It is a fomenter of hatred and war. It is in everyone's interest that the leaders of the Muslim states end their silence on the imposture of the "Holocaust."

— *March 22, 2001*

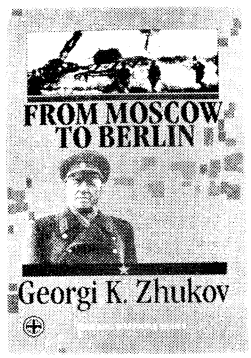
"All democracies have a basis, a foundation. For France it is 1789, for Germany it is Auschwitz."

— German Foreign Minister Joseph Fischer, *Süddeutsche Zeitung* (Munich), issue No. 50, 1999.

Georgi K. Zhukov

From Moscow to Berlin

Marshal Zhukov's Greatest Battles



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Between Public Relations and Self-Alienation: Arab Intellectuals and the 'Holocaust'

IBRAHIM ALLOUSH

Defective Strategies for Coping with External Threats: A Preview

Children sometimes mimic the sounds and gestures of characters, whether fictitious or real, that they see as frightening and omnipotent, including parents, teachers, and older siblings. These become rich sources for emulation in play, alone or with other children. From the inception of consciousness, humans search for mechanisms to cope with perceived threats from external sources of power. Primary among these mechanisms is the attempt to thrust ahead through emulation, defined here as adopting the methods, tools, attitudes, or aggression of that which frightens and awes. The psychological imbalance induced by anxiety over potential threat is thus averted by becoming one with that threat, either by exchanging roles or by internalizing the perceived source of overwhelming fear.

Hence, one may alleviate anxiety caused by a perceived threat, if only temporarily, by projecting the threat onto third parties, real or imagined. Yet by fabricating a shoddy and fragile imitation of the original threat, potential victims restore psychological equilibrium only at the expense of losing their balance in the larger context of personality, identity, or even humanity. Although not physically injurious, the resultant, self-inflicted wound cuts to the integrity of the person threatened.

Adults are no different in their need to control perceived sources of anxiety and threat in order to maintain mental and psychological balance. They attempt to emulate seemingly more authentic sources of actual or potential threats, even if their attempts to emulate such sources of danger take more socialized and politicized forms and expressions. Still, the basic process of self-alienation remains the same: the perception of an overwhelming threat generates the need to restore psychological and mental balance by internalizing that threat, then projecting it outwards, or by becoming one with it through emulation, to bridge quickly and thoroughly the wide gap between the inferior's feelings of worthlessness, weakness, and guilt and the imagined omnipotence of the perceived aggressor. At the core of this process, then, lies a relationship of inferiority between: the fearsome and the fearful, between the powerful and the powerless, between the wealthy and the impoverished, between the conqueror and conquered.

This process is the mechanism by which the values and perspectives of ruling elites in any society become those of the "mainstream." It is also the means by which the world today is being Americanized. To be sure, this is a two-way process. It is true that ruling elites in all societies, and at the global level, control the production of contemporary symbols and values, through control of the mass communications media and of the means of intellectual production (and thus of intellectual property rights). Yet that control only furnishes the material basis for creating a pliable mainstream. The prerequisite for controlling the mainstream (or the masses, in more archaic political terminology) is that the latter be

Ibrahim Alloush

completely self-alienated, and utterly disposed to emulate the wealthy, the powerful, and the fearsome.

Over a century ago Thorstein Veblen, in his *Theory of the Leisure Class*, traced the process by which the values and beliefs of the ruling classes become those of the rest of society through economic emulation. What Veblen described as "conspicuous consumption" by the wealthy led to the emergence of a cult of "consumerism," whereby the rest of society attempted to imitate the rich and thus bridge their perceived inadequacy.

In the relationship between the colonizers and the colonized, the process of emulation leads the colonized to adopt the positions and the attitudes of the European colonizers toward them. This leads to self-hatred and self-degradation on the part of the colonized. In his *Black Skin, White Masks*, Frantz Fanon analyzes the process by which European colonizers made some Africans loathe their race and seek to become "whiter," so to speak. In his letter of resignation from the hospital where he worked as chief psychiatrist during the Algerian war of independence, Fanon discusses how his therapeutic work with his Arab patients revealed that many of their problems originated with feelings of inferiority inculcated over decades by the European colonizers: his patients had internalized their oppressors' image of them.[1]

Paulo Freire, in his well-known work, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1970), raised the political and social analysis of emulating and internalizing the oppressor to new heights. Freire dissected the process by which revolutionary regimes become oppressive, like the regimes they have just overthrown: during the struggle the new regimes had absorbed the value systems of their former oppressors, and their attitudes towards the oppressed. To these revolutionaries, liberation meant "becoming like the oppressors."

Why revolutionary regimes turn oppressive is beyond the scope of this article. The point remains that Veblen, Fanon, and Freire, at different times, and on different social and political levels, each discovered how the oppressed internalize their oppressors and their oppressors' worldview, including their perception of the oppressed. At the micro level, the level of the individual, Anna Freud was the first to identify, in 1936, the process of internalizing the aggressor among children. Finally, in his *Social Backwardness: An Introduction to the Psychology of the Coerced* (first published in 1981), a classic that makes for highly illuminating, indeed indispensable reading for any Arab progressive, Dr. Mustafa Hijjazi of Lebanon establishes an analytical linkage between the internalization of the aggressor at the individual level and the internalization of the oppressor at the social and political levels. Unfortunately, Hijjazi does not mention Veblen or Freire in his book: these two writers could have greatly enhanced his analysis.

The thesis of these works can be abstracted as follows: the oppressed, because of their condition, develop feelings of inferiority, incompetence, and vulnerability, which in the absence of objective awareness (real consciousness) of the relationships that create that oppressive condition, lead them to adopt the oppressor's view of the world and themselves. This deepens their sense of inferiority and pushes them further to emulate the oppressor, in a vicious cycle that reinforces their condition of oppression. Stated simply, being the inferior in a relationship based on fear impels the oppressed to adopt the oppressor's worldview.

Self-Alienated Arabs: A Political Application

In cultural and political terms, one can apply the emulation paradigm to Arab intellectuals and social strata seeking to sever their connections to their Arab-Islamic heritage and identity, and to devour and regurgitate the rhetoric and narratives of the Zionist movement and of the overseers of the "New World Order."

Feelings of guilt and ineptitude grow as the oppressor's worldview is internalized, turned against oneself, and even more so against one's group, as an extension of the self. The self-alienated Arab then begins to associate his Arab identity — suddenly grown flat, monotonous, degraded to a stereotype — with all that is negative and inferior. Everything positive, enlightened, and superior is now ascribed to America, the West, Jews, Zionists. This state of psychological imbalance can only be resolved by the self-alienated Arab's attempted escape from self, his becoming a bridge to the values, beliefs, practices, and the oppressor's worldview.

For the average Arab, this self-alienation becomes an obsessive fascination with the lifestyle, music, culture, food, clothes, and gadgets of the dominant societies. Like certain "British Indians" or "French Algerians" before them, for these Arabs salvation becomes the ability to lose their identities and to melt into that of the aggressor, oppressor, or invader.

Self-alienated Arab intellectuals, on the other hand, express their alienation by becoming spokespersons for globalization, Zionism, and peace with "Israel." To the extent these Arabs speak for their oppressors deliberately, either to cultivate them for personal benefit or privilege, or to avert reprisals and punishment, one may call them opportunistic. Insofar as they rationalize oppression out of conviction rooted in their self-alienation, however, they better fit the emulation model: they have completed the process of self-abnegation.

To underscore this point, it might be useful here to bring up a crucial difference between supporters of the Oslo "peace process" and those Arab politicians and intellectuals actively promoting Zionism, in theory and practice, to their fellow Arabs (where Zionism, as defined by Herzl, is the creation of a national homeland for the Jews in Palestine).

To be sure, both groups represent defective social and political ways of coping with overwhelming oppression, namely, the Jewish invasion of Palestine. Supporters of Oslo tell their constituents that they are merely enduring a status quo they cannot change (and thus might as well make the most of it), a transparently defeatist argument. The Arab politicians and intellectuals promoting ideological rationalizations of oppression are, in the long run, infinitely more dangerous. They typically advance arguments and standards that present imperialist and Zionist domination as acceptable, even desirable, to Arabs. One such brainchild of the self-alienated is the self-destructive embrace of the notion of "Middle Easternism," by which the Arab-Islamic heritage and identity is to dissolve in a globalized "Middle East," in which the Arabs are to be even further fragmented along sectarian and ethnic lines.[2]

The self-alienated Arab intellectuals and politicians, who may oppose Oslo clamorously, promote arguments and ideas that lead to the moral acceptance of "Israel," not merely the recognition of its right to exist, as Oslo supporters do out of political expediency. Examples of such ideas include the notion of the binational state (which abrogates the Arab identity of Palestine); criticizing Zionism *primarily* for its racism (rather than for its occupation of Palestine); advocating winning over Israeli public opinion by abandoning armed resistance against the occupation (although, as the historical record from South Lebanon to the Vietnam war shows beyond question, it is effective armed resistance that is most capable of swaying public opinion in the enemy camp); proclaiming adherents to the Jewish religion as a nation with the right to self-determination in Palestine while denying, for example, that the Arabs are a nation (self-evident alienation when coming from an Arab); and the whole slew of contrite calls for "dialogue with the other" and for "understanding the other" (where the now neutral "other" is nothing but the invader and oppressor). In short, exactly what we would expect from Arab intellectuals or politicians who realize themselves only through absorbing and voicing values and ideas that bring them closer to the oppressor, albeit as inferiors.

The practical difference between the opportunists and the emulators is that political expediency can change with political circumstances, whereas ideas and value-systems that bind the oppressed in subservience to the oppressor are much more stable. Evidence of this can be readily found in the active role supporters of the Fateh organization in the West Bank and Gaza are playing in the current Aqsa Intifada: for the previous seven years they were seen as the enforcers of Oslo, mere policemen serving as security for the invader. Clearly the ideological subjugation of the oppressed penetrates more deeply into the collective mentality than does political subjugation, and therefore it is much more dangerous. Words may wound worse than weapons. Indoctrination from within is far more brutal than external domination. External domination stimulates resistance, even if it be entirely covert; indoctrination is a self-made prison for the spirit, that serves only the oppressor.

The Oppressive Narrative of the 'Holocaust'

Frequently, meek submission to external domina-

tion sets the stage for indoctrination. The process typically starts with self-delusions about "playing the PR game," "playing it smart with the mainstream," and other rationalizations designed to take the edge off defeatism or capitulation before an irrationally overwhelming force. Let us next examine how certain Arabs deal with the oppressive narrative of the "Holocaust," a narrative of which the Arabs, in particular Palestinian Arabs, have been primary victims.

The "Holocaust" has long since ceased to be about the Jews who died in the Second World War, or about opposing all forms of racialism, including Nazism. It has become instead a generator of contemporary symbols and political values for rationalizing Zionist power and its support by ruling elites in the West in furtherance of their own imperialist interests in the Arab world. Oppression cannot prevail solely by the argument of force; to achieve long-term stability it must be complemented by the force of argumentation. Thus acceptance of the received version of the "Holocaust" has become a necessary condition for rationalizing Zionism and its international support network. To be specific, the "Holocaust" serves three simultaneous objectives:

1. it justifies a Zionist state in Palestine on the grounds that the Jews need a special refuge from an alleged worldwide "anti-Semitism";
2. it rationalizes unlimited Western financial, military, and political support for the Zionist movement and Israel with reference to the guilt complex inculcated in the West over the "Holocaust" as the culmination of "anti-Semitism";
3. it condones violations of international law and of all legal and divine codes by the Zionist movement and Israel under the pretext that the alleged uniqueness of the "Holocaust" in human history should allow Jews leeway in the application of the law.

Many Arabs chide themselves for not campaigning effectively enough in the media to win over public opinion in the West. In their much-needed media efforts to explain their cause to Westerners, however, these same Arabs insist on ignoring the biggest obstacle to their success: the fact that the most important source of sympathy for Israel in Western public opinion is the received version of the "Holocaust," and the mass-communications media's churning out of daily "Holocaust" reminders to constantly increase that sympathy, overshadowing every Zionist injustice or excess. Therein lies the importance of revisionist historians to Arabs. These brave souls (who are of varying ideological backgrounds) work meticulously and systematically to undermine the three basic pillars of the "Holocaust": 1) the myth that the Nazis pursued a policy of genocide against the Jews (the Nazi policy regarding Jews was deportation, including, unfortunately, deportation to Palestine); 2) the myth that six million Jews died in the Second World War (that number exceeds by far the numbers of Jews living in Nazi-occupied areas during the war); and 3) the myth of the gas chambers in which millions of them supposedly perished (no one has yet been able to prove the existence of, or explain the way in which, 19-25 these chambers supposedly functioned).[3]

In a classic show of self-alienation, however, fourteen Arab intellectuals recently called on the Lebanese government to cancel a historical revisionist conference in Beirut. By doing so, these intellectuals were derelict in their duties as Arab intellectuals. They asked an Arab government to ban an intellectual forum. More important, they publicly gave their unreserved credence to a false narrative that empowers Zionism, instead of exposing it. Such acceptance of the "Holocaust" is the essence of cultural "normalization" with the invader; it is intended to lead eventually to making Arabs no less intellectually subservient to the "Holocaust" myths than Westerners are today. Thus these Arab intellectuals, either out of indoctrinated self-alienation or for opportunistic reasons, become the intellectual beachhead from which Zionism launches its invasion of the Arab mind.

The *Jerusalem Post*: An Arab Voice?

It is perfectly understandable that Zionists grow enraged when the totem of the "Holocaust" is scrutinized critically. After all, it is a lucrative source of income, arms, and Zionist legitimacy. Thus when the *Jerusalem Post* (of June 8, 2001), reported on a symposium on historical revisionism organized in Amman, Jordan by the Jordanian Writers Association (JWA) on May 13, 2001, it was most unsurprising to encounter a constellation of Zionist academics, politicians, and commentators frenziedly denouncing the symposium and the JWA.[4] It was not the first time, nor will it be the last, that Zionists attacked Arabs who dared to put the "Holocaust" to rational discussion.

Predictably, the long story in the *Jerusalem Post* did not contain a single sentence in response to the scholarly research that debunks the three basic myths of the "Holocaust." Instead, it conveyed two messages, one for Arabs, the other for Westerners. Arabs were told: leave

the "Holocaust" alone. Questioning it is bad media strategy (since when have the Zionists worried about the Arabs' media strategies?). The message to Western public opinion, on the other hand, was that Arabs who challenge the "Holocaust" are equivalent to Arab who lay claim to the "Temple Mount" (site of the Al Aqsa mosque) and other property and prerogatives claimed by the Zionists in Palestine.

Note that there is a great, though undeclared, psychological extortion at the heart of both messages, based on the Zionists' success in establishing the myths of the "Holocaust" in the Western mind beyond a shred of doubt: the "Holocaust" has acquired a potency that overwhelms and oppresses. None of those interviewed in the *Jerusalem Post* article remarked on the logical and scientific evidence refuting the myths of the "Holocaust." Instead, they invoked the "Holocaust" as an overpowering, numinous force with which to threaten Arabs: Stay out of this fight. Give up! Back off! Adore our gods or else! For their part Westerners, more deeply initiated into the rites of the "Holocaust" religion, are told: A few of the Arabs dare to question the "Holocaust," and denying the "Holocaust" is no different from denying any of the Jewish claims to Israel.

In the face of such an onslaught, there can only be three kinds of Arab responses: that of the self-alienated Arabs, who embrace the "Holocaust" religion wholeheartedly; that of the defeatist Arabs, who pay lip service to the "Holocaust" out of political expediency, without embracing the "Holocaust" cult; and finally that of those Arabs willing to stand up for truth and justice by fighting the Holocaust imposture.

Thus when the *Jerusalem Post* story quoted Hussein Ibish, communications director of the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC), as taking part in the Zionist attack on the Jordanian Writers Association and on all Arab intellectuals who dare to question the "Holocaust," the immediate question became: What kind of Arab (or Arab-American) is Ibish? Is he the kind that embraces the values of the enemy's religion wholeheartedly, as do certain Arab intellectuals, or is he of the sort that serves the false cult out of political expediency?

Examining Ibish's statements against Arab intellectuals who question the "Holocaust," one will note that the evident strategy closely resembles that of the supporters of Oslo: yield to the enemy on basic principles, settling for scraps while improving one's position against the enemy wherever possible. In this case, the ADC's communications director capitulated to the Zionists by: 1) lending them the voice of the ADC to condemn Arabs who dare to question the "Holocaust," 2) publicly declaring the adherence of the ADC to the three founding myths of the "Holocaust" religion, and 3) reassuring Zionists and Westerners that those Arabs willing even to listen to a critical appraisal of the "Holocaust" are too few to worry about.[5]

All the same, despite having yielded so much of basic principle, the ADC's communications director appears to have sought to avoid a slavishly pro-Zionist stance on the "Holocaust." Thus Ibish included Gypsies, Slavs, and others in the "Holocaust," which somewhat diminishes Zionist claims for its historical uniqueness. He also pretended to take issue with Arab criticism of the "Holocaust" as a tool to justify Zionist excesses, only to present what he "disagreed with" at length. Notwithstanding these petty subterfuges, Ibish still gave the Zionists the invective they needed from an Arab for their attack on the Jordanian Writers Association and on the Arab intellectuals who dared to question the myths of the "Holocaust."

Had Ibish's critique appeared from an Arab forum, instead of as a voice in the Zionist chorus from the *Jerusalem Post*, it might be better classified as a case of indoctrinated self-alienation. But when the Arab-American Anti-Discrimination Committee was called upon by the *Jerusalem Post* to show its "goodwill" towards Zionists by venerating the "Holocaust," it capitulated meekly before what is (rightly) perceived as an overwhelming threat, the prospect of vilification by and exclusion from the Western media. By mimicking the gestures and words of the oppressor, Ibish and the ADC preserved their threatened psychological equilibrium at the expense of a larger imbalance in their personal and political integrity.

What Zionists fail to understand when dealing with supporters of Oslo, the Palestinian National Authority, or those Arabs who yield to overwhelming Zionist force, is that we Arabs have long experience in humoring oppressive forces. For more than a thousand years now, our people have had to endure both external and internal oppressive structures, including the Zionist occupation. The defeatists and opportunists among us may compromise basic principles, a reprehensible practice by any standard, but even they will try to filch whatever scraps they can from the oppressor on the sly. Even when the Zionists accuse the Palestinian enforcers of Oslo of not abiding by this or that detail of their one-sided relationship, the Zionists underline the larger realities of the Zionist oppression and occupation. Enter those Arab intellectuals who reconcile Arabs ideologically to Zionism: their work, far more serious,

much more dangerous, aims to implant the equivalent of an Israeli agent in every Arab mind. This threat makes the fight against cultural normalization with the invader one of the most important aspects of the Arab-Zionist conflict today.

The above remarks on emulation and on the adoption of the value-systems and beliefs of others should be interpreted strictly in the context of oppressive conditions between humans on the individual or social level. In the absence of oppressive conditions, that is, in cases where people work, communicate, interact, and struggle together for a common goal in a spirit of camaraderie and cooperation, it is quite normal for shared beliefs, symbols, perceptions, and values to arise quite naturally. The difference, of course, is that in the latter case social interaction makes persons whole, not self-alienated. To repeat, oppression, exploitation, occupation, victimization, calls for "dialogue with the other" and "understanding the other" can only reflect the fundamental imbalance of power between victor and vanquished. To preserve the humanity of the oppressed under such conditions, the necessary form of dialogue with oppressors is the kind that occurs in revolutions, whether political or intellectual.

Notes

1. Cited in a paper in Arabic that was published in Beirut in 1970 in the monthly journal *Arab Studies*, issue no. 5, "Frantz Fanon and the Philosophy of Revolutionary Violence."
2. To read about why the concept of 'Middle Easternism' is self-alienating to Arabs and Muslims, please go to: http://www.fav.net/yesWeSupportPeace.htm. To learn more about Zionist designs to fragment Arab states into smaller units, and to establish a "Palestinian" state in Jordan, please see the Kivunim document at: http://www.fav.net/ZionistConspiracy_DivideTheArabWorld.htm
3. For more on the myths of the "Holocaust," please go to: http://www.fav.net/Faurisson.htm [A version of Robert Faurisson's Beirut address that appears elsewhere in this issue — ed.]
4. To view the June 8, 2001, *Jerusalem Post* article aimed at the Jordanian Writers Association and Arab intellectuals, please go to: http://www.jpost.com/Editions/2001/06/10/Features/Features.27849.html
5. Readers interested in learning why the last statement is totally inaccurate should go to: http://www.fav.net/AnotherResoundingVictory.htm

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To the Mannheim Jail: Justice and Truth in Contemporary Germany

FREDRICK TÖBEN

My seven months' imprisonment in Mannheim, Germany in 1999 was quite a physical and mental experience for me, and I shall attempt to contextualize this within a personal historical narrative that may shed some light on the persecutors' mind-set.

I can ask you: which version of my story do you want to hear? The good one or the bad one? The good story is all about my making the most of a difficult situation. But afterwards you may say: Hey, I don't have to feel sorry for you anymore. The bad story is all about the pain of being deprived of personal freedom — and it will make you feel very sad, not only for me, but also for anyone who in some way has lost the physical and mental freedom that we normally take for granted.

Of course, there really is nothing new in this. During the same year I was jailed, German historian Ingrid Weckert was fined 3,000 marks for having written an article published in the German journal *Sleipnir* in which she contrasted diary entries — one positive, the other negative — written by two men who spent time in Dachau.

For me personally, it was interesting to meet members of Germany's judiciary and legal profession, and to find out what made them tick. For example, what makes people such as German public prosecutor Hans-Heiko Klein pursue revisionists fifty-five years after the end of the Second World War?

Soon after my arrest, on April 8, 1999, rumor had it that I had deliberately gone into the lion's den to sacrifice myself for the cause. The only truth to this is that I have tried to lead by example, and for years I have proclaimed that we must be prepared to go to prison in order to defend free speech.

I talked and talked about it, and still consider my approach to be based on reason — to speak to friend and foe alike. Why? Well, if we stop talking to one another, then other forms of communication emerge not based on reason.

While in prison I had a lot of time to think, and I formulated the following: "If you deny me my freedom to think and speak, then you take away my humanity, and you commit a crime against humanity. Truth is my defense." It's elementary, but so is our human nature — and we take for granted the freedom to think and to speak without realizing that there are forces that wish to take it from us.

Linked to the freedom concept, and vital in any human enterprise, is the moral value of truth-telling. Who today wants to hear the word Truth? It is a rare commodity, particularly in any government agency.

Fredrick Töben was born in June 1941 in Germany, and emigrated to Australia when he was ten. He studied at Melbourne University in Australia, as well as at universities in Heidelberg, Tübingen and Stuttgart in Germany, where he earned a doctorate in philosophy. He is the founder and director of the Adelaide Institute, an important revisionist research and publishing center (P.O. Box 3300, Norwood 5067, Australia. Web site: www.adelaideinstitute.org). This essay is adapted from his address at IHR's Thirteenth International Conference, May 28, 2000.

Work to Do

Let me briefly go back to the beginning of my second revisionist tour. On February 22, 1999, the day of my departure from Australia, our local *Wimmera Mail-Times* newspaper in Horsham accurately reported my intentions in visiting Germany: to discuss this Holocaust business with lawyers, public prosecutors, and judges — something I subsequently did, both before my arrest and after my release on November 11, 1999.

During my imprisonment, information about the outside world became vitally important for me. More than a hundred people worldwide wrote and offered their support. For that I am forever grateful to them. I never formally thanked the IHR for supporting me — I do that now.

It was also important for me to know that our work at Adelaide Institute was continuing. While I was in prison, Richard Krege — our associate in the Australian Capital Territory — led an expedition to the site of the wartime German camp of Treblinka in Poland, where he carried out an investigation using a sophisticated Ground Penetrating Radar (GPR) device. The GPR images did not confirm the official Treblinka story. [See the May-June 2000 *Journal*, p. 20.] Although this research is still not complete, we can safely say that yet another Holocaust myth has been destroyed with the help of state-of-the art technology.

The aim, it must be stressed, is not to destroy myths for the sake of destroying myths. We all need our myths. The worry begins when some insist that their myths rest on some physical reality. When such a claim is clearly wrong, it becomes a lie. Greek and Egyptian myths, for example, do have some connection with reality, as archeologists illustrate when they confirm elements of them through their investigations. The Holocaust homicidal gas chamber extermination myth, on the other hand, has no such connection with physical reality, and hence legal means are used to prevent public expression of such dissident skepticism.

The Feverish Mind

The mind that creates and upholds the Holocaust myth is a feverish one, abandoning any cherishing of truth-telling as a moral virtue. Here is an example of what I mean, written by a professed Holocaust survivor:

> I grew up and became an adult in a time and in a society that didn't want to listen, or perhaps was incapable of listening. "Children have no memories, children forget quickly, you must forget it all, it was just a bad dream." These were the words, endlessly repeated, that were used on me from my school days to erase my past and make me keep quiet. So for decades I was silent, but my memory could not be wiped clean. Very occasionally I would make timid attempts to share at least some parts of it with someone, but these attempts always went wrong. A finger tapping against the forehead or aggressive questions in return soon made me fall silent, taking back what I'd revealed. It is so easy to make a child mistrust his own reflections, to take away his voice. I wanted my own certainty back, and I wanted my voice back, so I began to write....
>
> Legal accredited truth is one thing — the truth of a life another. Years of research, many journeys back to the places where I remember things happened, and countless conversations with specialists and historians have helped me to clarify many previously inexplicable shreds of memory, to identify places and people, to find them again and to make a possible, more or less logical chronology out of it. I thank them all.

This rather moving account of a child finding his identity within the Holocaust mythology, of pain and suffering endured, comes from the afterword of Binjamin Wilkomirski's book *Fragments: Memories of a Wartime Childhood*. [See the September-October 1998 *Journal*, pp. 15-16.] We now know that this work, which is still sold in book stores, is a total fabrication. It is fiction sold as fact.

Wilkomirski's "memoir" is a prime example of the level of ruthless emotional exploitation to which the Holocaust racket has sunk. Historical revisionists are not the only ones who are critical of the Holocaust myth makers. Peter Novick, in his 1999 study *The Holocaust in American Life*, says of Wilkomirski's book: "When evidence emerged that one Holocaust memoir, highly praised for its authenticity, might have been completely invented, Deborah Lipstadt, who used the memoir in her teaching of the Holocaust, acknowledged that if this turned out to be the case, it 'might complicate matters somewhat,' but insisted that it would still be 'powerful' as a novel."

I may ask: With what kind of moral framework is Professor Deborah Lipstadt imbuing her students? With impunity she is still defaming and inciting hatred

Fredrick Töben's need to know, not believe, led him to the Holocaust Holy of Holies, the roof of morgue 1 of Crematorium II at Auschwitz-Birkenau. It was through carefully cut holes in this roof that granules of hydrogen cyanide are supposed to have been dropped with lethal effect on more than half a million Jews. As Dr. Töben, like revisionist pilgrims before him, ascertained, there no holes, only growing cracks and fissures ... rather like the Auschwitz myth itself.

against the German people — which is a crime against the Germans' human rights. Lipstadt is thus committing a crime against humanity. Then again, the Germans are letting it happen!

Natural Justice: From the 'Educators'

Let's go back 15 years, to February 1985, when Ernst Zündel began his legal battle with the world Holocaust lobby. The first "great Holocaust trial" was beginning in Toronto.

In Australia, I had just been dismissed from my teaching post, and was beginning an eight-year legal battle against the Victorian Education Department, ultimately to succeed in having the dismissal reversed. How did I manage that? The issue in court was whether I had been given "natural justice," that is, the right of reply to an allegation. The principle of natural justice is, of course, not a part of statute law but rather of common law. The Crown solicitor stated in the interrogatories — the question and answer section of the proceedings where preliminary matters are tested to find out how strong each side's case is — that I "was given every opportunity to respond to the allegations — and in fact did so" during the formal hearing in the director-general's office. This legal opinion rested on documentary evidence: during the formal hearing on February 7, 1985, a legal officer had taken notes when my witnesses and I talked with the director-general. This legal officer had written that I "was given every opportunity to respond to the allegations, and in fact did so." My legal counsel of one year — I had already been rejected by four legal firms — threw in the towel, claiming that I could not win the case because "you have been given natural justice."

What to do next? I insisted that I had not been given the opportunity to respond to the allegations leveled against me — seven allegations of incompetence and five allegations of disobedience (the latter all alleged to have happened during a time-span of less than five

minutes).

On the day of the formal hearing — February 7, 1985 — I attempted to hand to the director-general my written response to the eleven allegations. I still recall his words: "Dr. Töben, it is not a matter of you responding to these allegations point-by-point. Give me a reason why I should not act on the legally constituted enquiry's recommendation that your services be dispensed with."

Luckily I had secretly recorded this whole interview, and a young barrister to whom I played the tape listened intently: "I think your case has stumps, not yet legs, but certainly stumps. I think we can run this case." He then had the whole tape transcribed. At the end of the trial, the judge found that because the official inquiry looked into my competence, but not into the disobedience allegations — that were no doubt simply added to give weight to the former allegations — I had not been given natural justice, that is, the right of reply. The judge also said something about the director-general "shifting ground" — that's a euphemism for lying.

It was only a technical victory because I was not reinstated. But in 1992 I presented my case to the South Australian Teachers' Registration Board, and was given permission to teach in South Australian schools.

Complicated court cases rarely produce outright winners or losers. Knowing this, lawyers shrug their shoulders with a cynical attitude, "win some, lose some." In my case, the concept of natural justice — a right of reply — thus defeated outright lying.

Natural Justice: Before the 'Human Rights Commission'

In 1996, I encountered the same unprincipled legal framework.When the Adelaide Institute set up its own Internet website, Australia's leading Zionist, Jeremy Jones, was quick to act — following a signal sent around the world by Rabbi Abraham Cooper of the Simon Wiesenthal Center in Los Angeles, who had designated our website a "hate site." Jones — vice-president of the Executive Council of Australian Jewry (ECAJ) — brought us before a "Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission" (HREOC), bitterly complaining on behalf of all Australian Jews that our work violated the recently enacted Racial Discrimination Act.

Like many similar tribunals, this commission was meant to provide low-cost conflict resolution, outside of the normally much more expensive and time-consuming regular court system. Parties before a commission tribunal are encouraged to first resolve their conflicts through conciliation meetings, before coming to a formal hearing. Our case was different, though. Jones refused to attend any conciliation meetings, and instead pressed hard to bring the matter to a formal hearing.

The lady who initially prepared our case, before any formal hearing date had been set, advised me before leaving the HREOC that our case was an international political matter. With this revelation, I was slowly beginning to understand those individuals who spoke of a "Jewish conspiracy," a notion I had rejected outright. I still do. I simply demand to be given the names of those who are doing the persecuting.

When it was time for the hearing, it was not held in Adelaide, where the alleged offense occurred, but rather in Sydney. This was a tactical move on the part of Jones and the ECAJ, and the HREOC commissioner — who hails from Adelaide — granted Jones' request, thereby placing additional financial hardships on me.

The formal hearing began in Sydney with Jones trying to pull a fast one on the commissioner, who was already biased against me. He claimed to represent all of Australia's Jews on this matter. I protested that Mr. Jack Selzer — Adelaide Institute's associate in New South Wales — was Jewish, and certainly would not have Jones representing him before the commission. The application was suitably amended.

Then came my twenty-seven witness statements in support of our work. (Those of you whom I asked for help with this will recall my request.) What happened? Sifting through the statements, the commissioner quickly deemed most of them to be irrelevant.

I then turned to her with a question: "Is truth a defense in these proceedings?" She pussyfooted about, saying something about having to follow the wording of the Racial Discrimination Act. I continued with words to the effect: "If truth is not a defense in these proceedings, then lies will flourish. Where lies flourish an immoral situation occurs because truth is a moral virtue. These proceedings are immoral and I cannot continue to participate in them any further." With that I left the room.

[On October 10, 2000, the Australian government's "Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission" (HREOC) ordered the Adelaide Institute to remove from its Internet website material that "denies the Holocaust," and to issue an abject written apology to the country's Jews. To date the Adelaide Institute's website (www.adelaideinstitute.org) continues to challenge the gas chamber myth.]

The Hayward Thesis

In each hearing we submitted a copy of Dr. Joel Hayward's 1993 master's thesis, wherein he endorses the revisionist view that the alleged homicidal gas chambers did not exist. [See the May-June 2000 *Journal*, pp. 21-23.] Dr. Hayward had sent me a copy of his original along with a written authorization to use it however I wished. This written consent was later withdrawn, but by then the damage had already been done.

Hayward's recent recantation does not worry me at all. He is just a good revisionist who has changed his mind. He has done so, he says, after studying the trial transcript and judgment in the London Irving-Lipstadt defamation case. Of course, it is his right to change his opinion, but I'd like to know his reasoning in detail, because that is what he, as a scholar, owes the world. Otherwise his intellectual integrity is shot to pieces.

After I returned home from prison, Hayward rang me and we had an hour-long conversation. He informed me that threats had been made against him by a staff member of the Israeli embassy in Auckland, New Zealand. He told me that he had been advised that he would never be allowed to travel to Israel, but that if, by some chance, he did get in, he would never get out. If that is not a threat, I don't know what is. Hayward dutifully made a public apology (very much in the style of David Cole) to New Zealand's Jewish community for the hurt, pain, and suffering his research, thesis, and held opinion on the Holocaust had caused them.

I consider historical writings to be professional opinion based on a specific store of information, and on the author's moral values. This store of information waxes and wanes — often influenced by outright political constraints, as, for example, when Marxist regimes ban scholars who fail to toe the party line.

During a visit in the 1970s to then-Communist East Berlin, I met with a historian at the Humboldt University. He had nothing to do. As he explained to me, the process of exclusion had been a gradual one. First his lectures were vetted to make sure nothing he said violated Marxist dogma, then he was assigned to menial work, and finally he was removed entirely from contact with students. He turned up at the university with nothing to do. (I don't know what subsequently happened to him.)

So, now I embrace two concepts.

First: Natural Justice — the right of reply, or talking with someone instead of someone talking about me, because the latter is persecution, and,

Second: Truth as a Defense in Court Proceedings — carrying on discussion with reference to truth-content.

Asking Questions

It has always been important for me to speak to friend and foe alike. In 1997, when I undertook my first revisionist world trip, I met many like-minded persons, as well as a few not so like-minded, such as public prosecutor Hans-Heiko Klein in Mannheim, and Rabbi Cooper of the Simon Wiesenthal Center in Los Angeles.

Rabbi Cooper had labeled our website a "hate site." Why did he do it? During our meeting, he complained that our site was linked with those of non-historians such as that of Arthur Butz. I reminded him that we were linked even with the Simon Wiesenthal Center's own site because we believe it is important to have a free flow of information. He agreed that this is important, and even agreed that questioning things is essential for our mental development. Then he asked me: "Do you question the gassings?" I replied that, of course, I wanted to know what the murder weapon looked like. That was enough for him. He rose and said this ended our meeting.

Likewise with Klein, that first time. I had a cordial discussion in his office. While showing me a Leitz file folder packed with material, he said: "I know all about Adelaide Institute." He also asked the gassing question, and I indicated to him that I am aware of the German law that prohibits such questioning. He muttered something about my being like Leuchter on this free speech issue.

So, for Cooper and Klein, merely asking questions is an offense. This is a crime against humanity, because without asking questions we become mental slaves, dependent on someone else interpreting life for us. We thus never develop our own worldview, and that is bad.

To Know, Not to Believe

In August 1998 Adelaide Institute held Australia's first International Revisionist Symposium, something that upset Jeremy Jones. [See the November-December 1998 *Journal*, pp. 6-10.] We had the pleasure of hosting, as a visitor, His Excellency, the Ambassador of the United Arab Emirates.

We also had John Sack as a speaker, and some individuals were upset when he began his talk with the words: "I believe in the Holocaust." I pointed out that holding such a belief is, of course, John's right, and his participation shows how tolerant Holocaust revisionists really are. However, if he were to assert, "The Holo-

Dr. Töben, with Dr. Reza Kaji, at the International Intifada Conference in Teheran, Iran, in April 2001. The showcase just in front of the array of flags of Muslim countries contains a floral model of Jerusalem's Al Aqsa Mosque, generally held the third holiest spot in Islam. It was Ariel Sharon's swaggering visit there (in the company of one thousand Israeli police) on September 28, 2000, and its aftermath of brutal attacks on Palestinian worshippers, that touched off the current "Aqsa Intifada."

caust is an historical fact," then I would take issue with him, asking him to provide detailed proof supporting his assertion.

I want to know, not to believe.

The Arrest

In March 1999, some months after Jürgen Graf had participated in our revisionist symposium, I joined him and Carlo Mattogno on their archival research tour in former Communist countries. On April 8, 1999, I visited prosecutor Klein's office, and was subsequently arrested. Because a couple of versions of the arrest are floating about, let me briefly tell you what happened.

After arriving that morning at the local Mannheim police station, I inquired where state prosecutor Klein's office was located. An officer rang Klein and confirmed that my meeting with him was set for 2:00 P.M. I had other things planned for later in the afternoon, including travel to Bielefeld to meet, next day, with Judge Luetzenkirchen, the jurist who had confirmed Udo Walendy's earlier prison sentence.

So, around 9:30 A.M. I walked into Klein's office and asked whether he could bring forward the time of our meeting. He agreed to meet at 11 A.M. When I later walked into his personal office, I saw Klein sitting at his desk and another man sitting in a chair in front of me. I was introduced to Herr Mohr. Sensing something, I spontaneously asked Mohr: "You're not here for me, are you?" Mohr responded — and this was corroborated by Klein almost in unison — "No, I'm here just by chance."

Klein then invited me to present the information I had, and among other things, I mentioned that a new sign had gone up at Auschwitz-Birkenau Krematorium II telling visitors about the alleged gas induction holes at the top of the Krema morgue roof. He asked me a few questions designed to trap me into denying the gas chamber's existence, which I avoided answering. But it

was no help to me, and Klein then informed me that he was arresting me, and that Mr. Mohr would be taking me to the police station. Mohr began fiddling with his handcuffs, and I said that that would not be necessary because I would not attempt to run away. I had come here to study German justice, I said, and this would help me to learn more about it.

In Germany an arrested person must, by law, be brought before a judge within twenty-four hours. I was, and the arrest warrant that was issued against me reflected the haste with which it had been written up. I didn't recognize myself in what was said about me. I was seemingly the author of most of Ernst Zündel's works and of Germar Rudolf's publications. (It also appeared from my correspondence with Professor Gerald Fleming that he had lodged a complaint against me with the German authorities. Andreas Röhler, publisher of *Sleipnir*, soon established contact with Fleming, who assured Röhler that my imprisonment had nothing to do with him, and that he opposed it.)

Jail

This arrest warrant (*Haftbefehl*) was enough to send me to jail. Bail was refused, citing the experience with Fred Leuchter. [The American gas chamber specialist, author of the 1988 "Leuchter Report," was arrested in Cologne on October 28, 1993, just before he was to appear as a guest on a television program, and held for thirty-four days until his release on November 30, 1993. See the November-December 1993 *Journal*, pp. 22-23.] Klein alleged that Leuchter had skipped the country after he had been let out on bail. Later a confidential prison source informed me that the German authorities had, in fact, wanted Leuchter to leave Germany and return to the United States.

It is common practice to challenge an arrest warrant, and a week later this was done. By that time, though, Klein had gotten his act together, and a second arrest warrant was issued on May 3 that listed five allegedly criminal writings, all taken from Adelaide Institute's website.

Let me just clarify; I was held on remand, or in detention, while awaiting trial, or, in German, *Untersuchungshaft*, literally "investigative custody." Imprisonment, that is, a prison term following sentencing for a crime, is *Haft* in German. However, I tend not to differentiate between detention, house arrest, imprisonment, or jail, because each amounts to a loss of personal freedom.

During my seven months in prison I had a dream every night — but not once did I have one that unsettled me. Nor did I suffer from depression, as many prisoners do during their first few weeks in jail.

It was obvious to me that my case was an attempt by Klein to play world policeman over the Internet, something opposed even by German jurists (such as Prof. Ulrich Siebert of Würzburg University, who wrote a detailed paper in July 1999 about my case).

The day after the second arrest warrant was issued, a local radio station broadcast a news item about my further detention in Mannheim prison. It also reported that the State of Israel had sent good wishes to the Mannheim public prosecutor's office. When I head that, I knew that I had become a political prisoner.

My attorney, Ludwig Bock, and I had decided not to mount a defense, because any revisionist evidence offered by either of us in our own defense would itself constitute an additional violation of law. Bock also informed the judge he would no longer act as my attorney because he, Bock, was facing a similar charge. (At the time I accepted Bock as my lawyer in this case, I did not know that Klein had charged Bock with inciting racial hatred for having, two years earlier, too vigorously defended yet another German "thought criminal," Günter Deckert. Three weeks before my arrest, Bock was found guilty and fined 9,000 marks. His conviction was later upheld.)

Rejecting Bock's plea, the court ordered him to continue to represent me. But to protect himself, on the first day of my trial, November 8, Bock read out a statement saying this court case was like a witch trial, and that he and I would remain silent throughout the proceedings because evidence is not privileged in such cases.

In addition to the five allegations listed in the arrest warrant, Klein introduced a number of items of evidence that the two judges, Kern and Schmetzer, each read aloud in turn. One was a letter to me in prison from Jürgen Graf, who admonished me for having visited Klein. Graf wrote that he, along with Carlo Mattogno, Robert Faurisson, and so forth — the list was a lengthy "Who's Who" of revisionists — had all warned me not to visit this madman. Klein cited this letter to prove that I was one of the world's leading revisionists, and therefore as evidence of my criminal mindset.

Court Fight

At the end of the first day of trial I had time to think about my situation. I came to the view that instead of going down with barely a whimper, I should put up a fight. So on the second day of my trial, before the pro-

ceedings commenced, I read out the following statement:

1. It would be painful for me if I let myself be forced to be silent, especially if it concerns seeking clarification or solving problems.
2. I regard this trial as a state-sanctioned mental rape of my person.
3. Through a lifetime of philosophical studies I have liberated myself from my own ignorance, thereby not shying away from becoming a citizen who voices his concerns and who takes a moral-ethical stand against injustices.
4. After I left the court Monday afternoon I reflected a lot on what was happening in court. I also saw a television news item in which reporter Volker Hurrle insulted me and incited hatred against me. Yesterday morning I read articles by Ulrich Willenberg in the *Frankfurter Rundschau* and the *Rhein-Neckar-Zeitung* that also offered an ideologically distorted picture of my endeavors, and thereby defamed and incited hatred against me.
5. Every thinking human being is a revisionist. Revisionism is nothing but a method, a heuristic principle, with which to construct one's world view. Opinions are constantly revised through a free flow of information. Only encrusted minds cannot absorb new information, preventing moral responsibility from coming to the fore. Then citizens such as myself are arrested during a private discussion and thrown into prison.
6. I revised my plans last night when I heard German president Johannes Rau's address, given on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall. Rau said that no one is expelled from Germany for disagreeing with the government's opinions. He also talked about freedom, and how justice requires it. I now add that in Germany there is a basic law that protects my human rights. I therefore request that I may defend myself in this court with a new lawyer, Dr. Thor von Waldenstein.
7. I am now in my eighth month in Mannheim jail, and I have gained many impressions of the German justice system. I was elected spokesperson for the 250 prisoners on remand, and I hear many prisoners insult prosecutors and judges as "racists" and "Nazis." Public prosecutor Klein — that's the irony — also defames me with these words. He even decorates his office wall with a swastika!
8. I see prosecutors and judges order prisoners on remand placed in their cells for twenty-three hours a day. They are treated like convicted prisoners, and not as innocent persons. Convicts are better off than prisoners on remand, who are not even allowed to participate in the church service and in the Bible study group. This is human rights abuse — the prevention of exercising one's religious belief. Why do Hurrle and Willenberg not focus on such injustices?
9. I have no criticism to make of the staff of the Mannheim jail. They attempt to do their best in coping with a difficult situation, but they can do only so much, and they are often just overburdened.

A Free Man

Judge Klaus Kern refused my request to remove my silent lawyer, Ludwig Bock, from my case, and to order a new trial with proper legal representation.

In his summation, prosecutor Klein demanded a sentence of two years and four months for me because, he said, "it is obvious that the seven months in prison have had no effect on him." He also claimed that my criminal intent was evident in my revisionist mindset, and that this makes me a hard-core revisionist, an anti-Semite, and a racist.

After adjourning for about an hour, the judges returned. Judge Kern read out the sentence: three months for allegations one through three; six months for an open letter I had written to Judge Clapiér-Krespach (violating section 130 of the criminal code, which outlaws "popular incitement," because I had mailed it, and several copies, to persons in Germany); and three months for allegation five. The judge rounded this down to ten months, and then set bail at sixty thousand marks. Because I had already spent seven months behind bars, and had been well behaved during my imprisonment, the "two-thirds" rule applied. I was therefore released for time served in custody.

This deprivation of my mental freedom rests on the Holocaust myth, the Holocaust dogma. The dogma is all-pervasive and gaining in strength, but the stronger it becomes, the more resistance will grow against it. These are interesting times. The United States of America, with its free speech guarantee, will continue to play a leading role in keeping the controversy alive.

[On December 12, 2000 the federal German appeals court in Karlsruhe criticized the Mannheim court for its leniency, and ordered that Fredrick Töben be retried. The appeals court upheld the principle that German courts may try foreigners for actions which are lawful in the countries in which they are committed.]

The Töben Affair, Seen by Voltaire

ROBERT FAURISSON

For the historian, the sociologist, or the jurist, the case of Australian revisionist Fredrick Töben is one of the simplest and most instructive. It is also both appalling and amusing.

One day, moved by curiosity, this German-born Australian departed the antipodes for France, to confer with a revisionist who had coined the phrase "No holes, no 'Holocaust.'" Next, he journeyed to Poland, to Auschwitz, where with his own eyes he observed the absence of any "holes" in the collapsed roof of an alleged homicidal gas chamber, and concluded that there was cause to doubt whether such chemical slaughterhouses had ever existed at that spot, the veritable center of the "Holocaust." Finally, on a pilgrimage to the Germanic lands, he shared his doubts and asked for explanations, conduct that, forthwith, earned him a stay in prison.

Voltaire would have liked this "affaire Calas" (of a less tragic sort). From it he could have drawn inspiration for a tale entitled: "The Emperor's New Clothes, or the Imposture." It seems right to imagine that, as in a classical French play, the story should evolve in five acts.

In the first of these acts, our hero from the southern hemisphere hears tell that a certain European emperor, dear to the Jews, and thus also to today's Germans, is, in the eyes of his court, bedecked in the most resplendent attire, while in reality he is quite simply naked. It is said that certain ingenious rascals had pretended to create for the emperor garments of an exceedingly rare cloth, costing a fortune. In the next act, our Australian, a modern-day Huron after Voltaire's tale *Le Huron ou l'Ingénu*, armed with advice on how to pursue his inquiry, arrives in Europe and prepares to see for himself. At the imperial court, he forms the impression that this emperor could well be naked. In the third act, he makes inquiries at the court, even whispering to the courtiers: "Is it possible that your emperor is naked?"

For want of a fitting reply, he resolves to go to the German realms and consult a man of the craft. This man, certainly a German, perhaps a Jew as well, has a reputation the world over for so good a grasp of the solution to the riddle that he will abide no answer but his own. A prosecutor of lugubrious mien, he invites the skeptic to return the next day to receive his answer. This our Australian does not fail to do. In the prosecutor's office, with a stranger present, he is asked to repeat his question. He does. And so it is that, in the fifth and final act, the curious traveler finds himself behind the bars of a German jail.

In the real-life Töben case, the prosecutor was one Heiko Klein, the stranger was a policeman, and Töben spent seven months in the Mannheim jail.

Voltaire would have been no less inspired by what came next. The treatment Töben received in court throws a stark light on how the German justice system operates today, and on the behavior of many Western democracies whenever the most hallowed of their taboos, that of the "Holocaust," appears to be in peril.

Fredrick Töben, guarded and in handcuffs, was led

This essay is adapted from Robert Faurisson's foreword to Fredrick Töben's forthcoming book, *When Truth is No Defence: I Want to Break Free.*

On October 13, 1761, Jean Calas, a Protestant textile dealer in Toulouse, and his wife discovered the body of their 29-year-old son, Marc-Antoine, who had hanged himself. When Calas attempted to conceal Marc-Antoine's suicide, Toulouse was soon rife with innuendo that the father had killed his son because he was about to convert to Catholicism. Voltaire became involved only after the city authorities had executed Calas on March 9, 1762; the philosophe, then 67 years old, was able to mobilize Prussia's Frederick II and Catherine of Russia, as well as much of Europe's republic of letters, to induce France's Louis XV to pardon the late Calas and to order his wife and daughters released from confinement.

from his jail cell into a courtroom. Given the gravity of his case, however, he was only allowed a mock trial. He was, of course, provided with counsel, but his attorney was made to understand that he would do well to keep quiet if he did not want to join his client in prison. The lawyer kept quiet, and Töben was found guilty, sentenced to time served and a heavy fine, and then released.

The Australian authorities were careful not to intervene in favor of the victim. Indeed they fell little short of applauding the judges' decision, most likely envying the German magistrates' freedom of action.

In the rest of the Western world, everyone, by and large, fell into line with Germany and Australia. The "elites" in place either approved, or kept silent. It occurred to none of them to decry the outrage. There were no petitions in support of the heretic, and no demonstrations. "Amnesty International" considered it natural and normal that an intellectual, an academic, should be treated thus. Indeed, precisely because Töben is a professor, many must think that he ought surely to know that some questions simply outrage decency.

Twenty Years Earlier

Twenty years previously, I myself lived through an experience comparable to that of my Australian colleague. In the columns of *Le Monde* (Feb. 21, 1979), thirty-four French historians — some of whom, like Fernand Braudel, enjoyed international renown — issued a joint declaration rebuking me for having put a question that propriety should have forbidden me even to conceive.

I had discovered that the existence and operation of the alleged Nazi gas chambers was, for physical and chemical reasons understandable to a child of eight, fundamentally impossible. In the late seventies I had therefore asked Germany's accusers how, for them, such mass murder by gassing had been technically possible. The answer took some time in coming, then gushed forth:

> It must not be asked how, technically, such a mass murder was possible. It was technically possible given that it took place. That is the requisite point of departure of any historical inquiry on this subject. It is incumbent upon us to simply state this truth: there is not, there cannot be, any debate about the existence of the gas chambers.

I was awkward enough to think that I had just brought off a decisive victory. My adversaries were taking flight. They showed themselves unable to reply to my arguments except by nimbly evading them. For me, the myth of the gas chambers had just breathed its last.

Pressac's Surrender, Spielberg's Triumph

Of course, from a scientific standpoint, gas chambers had fallen into nothingness. The following years confirmed this. From 1979 to 1995, every attempt to demonstrate their existence would abort: *the* Rückerls and Langbeins, the Hilbergs and Brownings, the Klarfelds and Pressacs would all suffer the most humiliating failures. It is not I who say this but rather one of their most fervent disciples, the historian Jacques Baynac. In 1996, in two lengthy and particularly well-informed articles, this fierce opponent of the revision-

ists drafted, with a heavy heart, an assessment of the vain efforts to establish the existence of the Nazi gas chambers (*Le Nouveau Quotidien*, Lausanne, Sept. 2 and 3, 1996). [See the July-August 1998 *Journal*, pp. 24-28.] Baynac's conclusion: the historians had failed totally and, as a result, recourse was had to the judiciary in order to silence the revisionists.

In March 2000, the renegade revisionist Jean-Claude Pressac was, in a way, to announce his own surrender. On this point one may read an interview with him published by the French scholar and historian (and staunch anti-revisionist) Valérie Igounet, in her book *Histoire du négationnisme en France* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 2000, pp. 613-652). The last two pages of the interview are stunning: Pressac states that the "rubbish bins of history" await the official story of the concentration camps! This text of a recorded talk, supposedly on June 15, 1995, must have been somewhat modified afterwards.

As is well known, however, the sphere of science, on the one hand, and that of the mass media, on the other, are plainly different in nature. In the latter sphere, while the Nazi gas chambers have had a very rough time of it, the adjoining myths of the genocide and the six million have prospered, thanks to thunderous promotion. Hilberg and his like may have failed in their work as historians, but Spielberg, the master of special effects cinema, triumphs with his "Holocaust" epics. Today, the official version of Second World War history has the force of law and of custom to such a degree that the nasty "deniers" seem annihilated.

What would Voltaire (François-Marie Arouet, 1694-1778) make of today's Holocaust cult, with its spectral "gas chambers" and incorporeal martyrs, its survivor saints and sham miracles, its museum-shrines, its shabby dogmas that contravene physical reality, the state inquisition that shields it from investigation? Would he not cry, "Ecrasez l'infame!" (or, "Crush the monster!")?

The Particular Case of Fredrick Töben

Nevertheless, a number of these rebels called revisionists remain alive, and very much so, to the despair of the thought police and their servitors among prosecutors, the judiciary, and the media. One of these revisionists, Fredrick Töben, upon leaving prison, had not the decency to show the least contrition or, as is said today, repentance. It may be feared that, for him, the Emperor (of the Jews) will remain indisputably naked, and that he will continue to go about repeating "No holes, no 'Holocaust,'" or, in an allusion to the non-existent fabric, "No clothes, no 'Holocaust.'"

Beginning with the indomitable Paul Rassinier, numerous other revisionists besides our Australian have endured, or still endure, a thousand travails. A few months ago, one of them, in Germany, was driven to suicide. Werner Pfeifenberger, a professor in Münster, killed himself on May 13, 2000, after years of exhausting struggle against his persecutors. [See the May-June 2000 *Journal*, pp. 24-25.] On April 25, 1995, in a Munich square, Reinhold Elstner immolated himself by fire. [See the September-October 1995 *Journal*, pp. 23-24.]

What distinguishes Töben's case from those of other revisionists is its simple and swift unwinding, and therefore its illustrative value. One might call it a synopsis, even a précis. It is nothing but the story of a man who, for having made a prosaic remark about a material fact, finds himself in prison. To whoever cared to listen, he declared: "At Auschwitz-Birkenau, they tell us a lethal poison was poured through four openings cut into a reinforced concrete roof, killing, day after day, thousands of people locked in the room below. Well, just looking at the roof today you can see that none of

those four holes ever existed! Yes, the roof is in ruins, but there is not a trace of such an opening, either above ground or, if you go down into the ruins, on the ceiling below. How do you explain that?" He received no answer. He then sought out a man who, by definition, would certainly know the answer to his query (and the answer to several others of the same type, i.e. material, basic). The sole reply that wise man could make was to throw the questioner in jail. But, out of jail again, what did our impertinent friend do? He repeated his question, but this time "*urbi et orbi*," to the whole world, and with renewed vigor.

A story edifying by its brevity, and not without spice.

Töben in an Ingénu Role Out of a Tale by Voltaire

I shall say it again: a Frenchman familiar with Voltaire is tempted to see in this antipodean a reincarnation, in his own mode, of Candide or the Huron (the original ingénu). Under Voltaire's pen, the ingenuousness, real or feigned, of those two heroes, wholly of his imagining, ended up putting them through numerous ordeals — but it also helped them overcome adversity, not without providing interesting perspectives on the beliefs and superstitions underpinning our society and institutions. The story of Fredrick Töben (a German, as was, in fact, Candide) would probably have appealed to Voltaire on another score, that of the execrable intolerance of the Jews and their high priests. (See: Henri Labroue, *Voltaire antijuif* [Paris: Les Documents contemporains, 1942].)

Today, in France, new editions of certain works of the "patriarch of Ferney" are expurgated, for fear of displeasing the Jews. No one can doubt that, if he came back to this world, Voltaire, following Töben's example, would be locked up for his disrespectful questions. Today even Switzerland, where in his time Voltaire knew he could find refuge, would surely put him in jail.

* * *

A note to the reader: Voltaire (1694-1778) was notably the author of *Candide ou l'Optimisme* (philosophical tale, 1759) and *Le Huron ou l'Ingénu* (satirical tale, 1767) as well as the *Dictionnaire philosophique ou la Raison par alphabet* (1764). He intervened in a series of court cases, such as that of the Calvinist Jean Calas, to speak out against what he called the crimes of intolerance or of superstition. He spent his last twenty years at Ferney, near the Swiss border.

Note on a falsely attributed statement: the following remark is mistakenly attributed to Voltaire: "I disapprove of what you say, but I will defend to the death your right to say it," sometimes with the adjunct "Monsieur l'abbé ..." In reality, a London author, in a book published in 1906, wrote, of Voltaire's attitude in cases of intense disagreement with his adversarsies: "I disapprove of what you say but I will defend to the death your right to say it was his attitude now." The author called himself Stephen G. Tallentyre (real name: Evelyn B. Hall), and the book was entitled *The Friends of Voltaire.* Source: Paul F. Boller, Jr., and John George, *They Never Said It: A Book of Fake Quotes, Misquotes, and Misleading Attributions* (New York and Oxford: O.U.P., 1989, pp. 124-126). Such, anyway, is the information I have from an article in *L'Intermédiaire des chercheurs et curieux* (Nov. 1993, p. 1157), kindly sent to me seven years ago by the Belgian revisionist Pierre Moreau, to whom I had confided my failure to find the remark in any of Voltaire's writings.

— *August 22, 2000*

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The Debate about *Neighbors*

Neighbors: The Destruction of the Jewish Community in Jedwabne, Poland by Jan T. Gross. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2001. Hardcover. 216 pp., index, photos, maps.

REVIEWED BY SAMUEL CROWELL

The publication of Jan Tomasz Gross' *Neighbors* in Poland in the spring of 2000 elicited strong protests in the author's native country. Many considered the book, a meditation about a massacre of Jews allegedly carried out by Poles in the summer of 1941, an accusation of Polish complicity in the Holocaust. When Princeton University Press published *Neighbors* in English translation in April, similar reactions from outraged Polish nationalists could be heard in the United States. Conversely, there was gloating in certain Jewish quarters, since the book, in its depiction of Jewish suffering at the hands of malicious Poles, served to reinforce long-standing prejudices many Jews continue to harbor against the Polish people.

The debate has tended to focus largely on the facts of the massacre, which in turn shape the secondary debate on the massacre's implications. That there was a massacre no one really disputes. Yet there has been sharp criticism of Gross, not only for his lack of qualifications to write history — he is a sociologist who teaches political science in New York City — but also because of some unusual departures from accepted historical method that Gross inarguably makes. Some critics have even fastened on Gross' Jewish paternity: although his mother is Catholic, Gross left Poland in 1968 during a state-sponsored "anti-Zionist" (in fact, anti-Jewish) campaign, and one could surmise a connection between that trauma and this book. Recently, the debate has been heightened following excavations by the Polish Institute of National Memory, a newly created agency designed to investigate the recent past and hand down OSI-style indictments, and these excavations have revealed some serious factual inaccuracies in Gross' account.

Nevertheless, to attack Gross' book for its historiographical deficiencies is to miss the point of *Neighbors*. To begin with, it is not structured as a work of history, being little more than a medium length journal article — some 35,000 words — in which Gross uses the setting of a burning barn in Jedwabne as a backdrop for delivering several pronouncements about the nature of Polish-Jewish relations. *Neighbors* seems not so much intended as an historical inquiry as it is an appeal to conscience, a call for Poles to confront their past as actors rather than as victims.

Of course, many will bridle at the attempt to use an isolated incident for the purposes of making general observations about a people, an incident which was in any case hardly typical of Polish-Jewish relations. In that sense, *Neighbors* certainly passes the Goldhagen test of making vast and offensive generalizations based on limited data. On the other hand, hyperbole is a useful device to draw attention to a problem, and, when the problem in this case is the recriminatory nature of Polish-Jewish relations, perhaps it could be justified. To be sure, there will still be those who feel that Gross should have also called the Jewish people to self-examination: his failure to achieve such balance is the weakest aspect of the book.

Still, given the hysterical nature of the debate, with fevered expressions of chauvinism from both Polish and Jewish sides, there seems little doubt that books that attempt what *Neighbors* claims to are needed, if Europe is ever to recover its underlying unity and sense of purpose.

The Story

Gross' book is built around a series of allegations concerning what transpired in the Polish village of Jedwabne, in the northwest corner of present-day Poland, not far from Bialystok. In the fall of 1939, Jedwabne was among the territories annexed by the Soviet Union, as part of the secret protocol of the Hitler-Stalin pact. Given Jedwabne's small size (about 3,000 inhabitants), its composition (approximately half Jewish and half Roman Catholic), its impoverishment and agricultural base, it could be said that Jedwabne was typical of probably hundreds of small villages throughout Eastern Europe.

Samuel Crowell is the pen name of an American writer who describes himself as a "moderate revisionist." At the University of California (Berkeley) he studied philosophy, foreign languages (including German, Polish, Russian, and Hungarian), and history, including Russian, German, and German-Jewish history. He continued his study of history at Columbia University. For six years he worked as a college teacher.

The period from 1939 to 1941 was a difficult one for Poles in the regions annexed by the Soviet Union. Soviet rule was accompanied by widespread "expropriation" of the "bourgeoisie." During the twenty-one months of occupation the Soviet secret police, the NKVD, arrested and deported well over a million Poles, including some tens of thousands of Polish Jews, most of who disappeared into Siberia. It is important to note that Gross, in an earlier book, *Revolution from Abroad*, was quite clear about the extent of Polish suffering during this period: this should be kept in mind when evaluating the apparent lack of objectivity in *Neighbors*. Another feature of the Soviet occupation, very relevant to reconstructing the events in Jedwabne, is the fact that there was widespread cooperation between elements of the Jewish community and the Soviet occupiers, which could easily have led to ethnic hatred. However, this aspect of the Soviet occupation, forthrightly described by Polish historians, including, in his earlier book, Gross, seems deliberately downplayed, and indeed, with the claim of implied Polish gentile complicity with the Soviets later in the book, turned upside down.

With the Soviet occupation as a setting, Gross describes how matters changed following the German invasion of the USSR in June of 1941. According to several eyewitness accounts, beginning on June 25, several "town hooligans" began to harass the Jews of Jedwabne in several ways, mainly through beatings and robberies. According to Gross, the culmination of these anti-Jewish actions came on July 10, 1941, when the Jews of Jedwabne — numbered at 1,600 by the author — were rounded up in the town square by their Polish neighbors, beaten and subjected to various indignities, and then finally marched to a nearby barn, where they were locked in and burned alive.

The Backlash

One of the first criticisms of Gross' book was that it relied largely, but not exclusively, on a single deposition describing the pogrom, as well as testimony from a couple of postwar trials which that deposition generated. The trials were held in Communist Poland during the late Stalinist period (1949-1953). For the most part, Gross depended on the deposition of Shmuel Wasserstein (Szmul Waszerstajn), a Jedwabne Jew, who, according to some sources, was a member of the Polish secret police (Security Office, or "UB") during the time of the postwar trials. Furthermore, Wasserstein was not strictly speaking an eyewitness, since he was hiding in another part of town during the massacre. While several Poles were convicted of participation in the events of July 10, 1941, there were several acquittals, and no death sentences were ever carried out.

One of the mysteries to Gross is how Wasserstein's deposition — originally drafted in April 1945 by a Jewish agency in Warsaw — could have led to a trial by the Polish state in a backwater town four years later. It seems likely that, if Wasserstein was indeed a member of the secret police by this time, the impetus for the trial could well have come on his initiative. On the other hand, the general unwillingness of the state authority to pass judgment on Poles for their conduct during the German occupation would be a likely explanation for the light sentences. Certainly, one of the most unusual things about the postwar Jedwabne trials is that, while held, they generated no spectacle of retribution: they were, in effect, show trials with no show. Bearing in mind that trials under Communist systems invariably contain an element of political "education," this is most unusual.

Another criticism of Gross is that he failed to consult records in other archives, specifically, the records of the German Einsatzgruppen, known to have been active in the area at the time, for his account of the massacre at Jedwabne. Gross has been the target of several barbs for this research failure. Such criticism, however, presupposes that Gross' intent was to exhaustively reconstruct the events of the massacre. That this was not the case can be clearly seen from an endnote entry (p. 210f.) in which Gross admits that, while he relied on Wasserstein's April 5, 1945, deposition (numbered 301/152), a later affidavit, also by Wasserstein (numbered 301/613), describes the deaths of fifty Jewish youths at the cemetery (which lay directly behind the burning barn). Clearly, the second deposition suggests a rather different massacre, at least in terms of scale, yet Gross has chosen not to explore these discrepancies.

Eyewitnesses

Perhaps in anticipation of such criticism, Gross makes an unusual appeal about the nature of eyewitness evidence about two-thirds of the way through his book. He writes:

> I suggest that we should modify our approach to sources for this period. When considering survivors' testimonies, we should be well advised to change the starting premise in appraisal of their evidentiary contribution from a priori critical to in principle

> affirmative. By accepting what we read in a particular account as fact until we find persuasive arguments to the contrary, we would avoid more mistakes than we are likely to commit by adopting the opposite approach, which calls for cautious skepticism towards any testimony until an independent confirmation of its content can be found. (pp. 139f.)

This reads as an extraordinary appeal to ignore the most basic canons of historiographical practice, but the wording also suggests that Gross had in mind specific practices of Polish historians in ignoring eyewitness testimony.

It should be said that the issue of eyewitness testimony is a problem of twentieth-century history writing, for the greater democratization of societies has created a situation in which virtually anyone's narrative of a historical event is considered historiographically valid. It is an issue particularly dear to revisionists, since so many of the events revisionists dispute — in particular the narratives concerning "extermination camps" in which three million were gassed and burned — rest almost entirely on eyewitness accounts. This has even led a few revisionists to the position that all eyewitness testimony should be declared invalid and ignored as much as possible.

Yet this approach seems both extreme and misguided. Eyewitness testimony is a very valuable tool to the historian attempting to reconstruct events. The key issue is the basic credibility of what the eyewitness narrates. If an eyewitness describes a massacre of Jews in a small Polish village, whether it be by Polish marauders or by the Gestapo, then the event might well have occurred, since it does not strain credulity. The problem with the "gas chamber" narratives is not that they are based on eyewitness testimony, but rather that the testimony offered is incredible on its face, and can only become credible if there is an underlying mass of credible documentary and forensic evidence. Of course, the entire point of Holocaust revisionism is that this underlying evidence does not exist.

Excavations and Motive

In May 2001, the Institute of National Memory conducted excavations of the site of the massacre, that is, in the area of the burned-out barn and between the barn and the former Jewish cemetery. The results offered confirmation and contradictions of aspects of Gross' account. In the first place, the excavations revealed the remains of a statue of Lenin that the Jews had been forced to remove from the square, a detail which tallies with several accounts. On the other hand, while the total number of bodies could only be estimated, due to Jewish complaints of desecration, it appears that no more than 200 or 250 people were killed in the massacre of July 10, 1941. In addition, some ammunition of German manufacture was discovered at the site.

The data have been interpreted variously by the partisans in the debate. The presence of German ammunition, for example, has been taken as proof that the killings were carried out by the Gestapo, although that doesn't very well explain why so many people in the area seemed to have no difficulty in admitting that Poles carried them out. Even the defendants in the 1949 and 1953 trials, who later claimed to have been tortured during their confinement, did not generally dispute the claim that at Jedwabne Poles killed Jews, while Germans were not involved. Moreover, German ammunition was widely used throughout Eastern Europe during this time, and thus the presence of German bullets is meaningless: recall that the NKVD used German ammo at Katyn.

The presence of the Lenin statue is rather more significant, for it strongly suggests that the massacre was carried out in revenge for perceived Jewish participation in Soviet rule, and the deportations these engendered. Indeed, it is hard to find any other explanation, and the presence of the statue also tends to refute one of Gross' main arguments, that the violence of the Poles against their Jewish neighbors was not due to rationally explicable motives, such as intergroup competition, class resentment, or even revenge, but rather to such superstitious causes as deicide and the blood libel. (Towards the end of the book Gross charitably offers theft as a possible quasi-rational motivation.)

The estimation of only 200 dead has been taken as vindication by Polish nationalists, who consider this reduction to have somehow removed the blot on Polish honor cast by Gross, as though the mob murder of 200 people is significantly less a moral stain than the murder of 1,600. Here we should emphasize that, patriotism apart, no good can come from attempting to explain away mass murders. The proper aim of rationalization is to help us understand the causality of tragedies such as Jedwabne, which otherwise run the risk of becoming mystified or two-dimensional: but understanding can never be equated with justification.

In reality, the excavations raise more questions than they answer. We can summarize the matter as follows: It

appears that about 200 Jewish citizens of Jedwabne were murdered in 1941 by their Polish neighbors in retaliation for real or imagined collaboration with the Soviets. After the war, a monument blaming the deaths of some 1,600 Jedwabne Jews on the Nazis was erected in the town. At the same time, trials were held in which Polish defendants admitted to their exclusive role in murdering the Jedwabne Jews. The forensic evidence does not contradict this general narrative.

However, if only 200 Jedwabne Jews were killed, what happened to the rest? If they fled with the Soviets — as seems likely — why were the Nazis blamed for killing all 1,600? Why would the Communist government present essentially two different stories to account for the absence of Jedwabne's Jews, who in any case were not killed there? These are difficult questions, but they may conceivably again go back to what might have been a complex of competing interests in the late 1940s and 1950s.

We can imagine a situation in which Soviet and Polish Communist governments would be willing to ascribe any population losses to Nazi conduct. The absence of Jews or even ethnic Poles from Jedwabne or elsewhere could be explained away by accusations of Nazi mass murder. In this way, one could avoid facing the more politically incorrect but more likely explanations that the missing people were either deported or forbidden to return home by the Soviet Union or had escaped to freedom in the West. On the other hand, we can also see the desire of Polish Jews who survived the war to see a measure justice or revenge meted out. In sum, while the events of July 10, 1941, seem rather clear in outline, the delineation of Poland's historical memory of the war years since then seems to have been a much more complex and competitive process. Perhaps further study will reveal that *Neighbors* itself is a part of that process.

Summary

As noted above, Gross' book has been severely criticized for its historiographical deficiencies. Yet, in our view, such critiques tend to miss the point of Gross' book, which was not so much meant to be historiographically precise as it was meant to force the Polish people to confront their legacy of anti-Jewish thoughts and deeds. There are several reasons that lead us to the conclusion that this was the main purpose of *Neighbors*.

First, we should always keep in mind that *Neighbors* was originally published in Polish for a Polish audience: this means it can only secondarily be construed as yet another entry in the Holocaust literature so common in the United States. However, recognizing this fact means that we have to try to read the book the way a Pole would be expected to read it, as an intimate commentary by a former fellow citizen about a common past. Under those circumstances it is hard to support the argument that *Neighbors* is just another anti-Polish diatribe. To be sure, the publication of the book in English elicited precisely such anti-Polish stereotypes, but that is not relevant in determining Gross' original intent.

Second, Gross concedes that the events surrounding the pogrom in Jedwabne may well be inexact; yet this observation was relegated to the endnotes, which simply emphasizes the extent to which *Neighbors* is meant as a call to conscience among his former Polish compatriots, rather than a work of history. In the same way, the frankly one-sided nature of Gross' appeal also tends to diminish the book's claims.

Third, Gross emphasizes that witness testimony should be accepted as true a priori: the normal strictures of historiographical skepticism should not be applied. To non-Poles, and particularly to revisionists, this argument must be viewed as breathtakingly broad and naïve. On the other hand, if it is seen as a response to attempts to deny, diminish, or to impute to others every wrong in modern Poland's undeniably contentious history with the Jews, it is at least understandable. If there has been a habitual tendency among nationalist Poles to refuse any responsibility for mistreating Jews — and the controversy over *Neighbors* suggests that is the case — then a reminder that one should not be quick to dismiss eyewitness accounts, especially if they are otherwise credible, can only be salutary.

Fourth, Gross argues in *Neighbors* for diminishing the extent of Jewish-Soviet collaboration in the crucial period of 1939-1941, even though he has conceded the extent of such collaboration elsewhere. Instead, he attempts to argue that non-Jewish Poles were as involved, if not more involved, in collaboration with the Soviet occupiers. What this suggests is that, for this particular argument, and for the proving of this particular point, Gross sought to invert the issue of collaboration in order to avoid the typical apologetic reaction in which an anti-Jewish pogrom would be explained away as a consequence of collaboration.

Fifth, in a related vein, Gross argues, towards the close of *Neighbors*, that the true facilitators of the hated Communist regime in Poland were not Jews, but anti-

Semites, inasmuch as the kind of Jew-hating opportunists who would have taken part in the Jedwabne massacre were precisely the kinds of individuals who would have amorally served the postwar puppet government. Again, such a reversal of stereotypes is of little use in assessing the responsibility for Jedwabne, but it makes sense if the purpose of Gross' book is to remind his former countrymen of a famous wisecrack by a noted American philosopher from the wetlands. Nevertheless, Gross' implied "We have met the enemy, and he is you" doesn't have quite the rhetorical and moral force as Pogo's "We have met the enemy, and he is us."

One of the most striking things about *Neighbors* is that it has reminded us of the extent to which many nations, particularly in Eastern Europe, have tended to interpret the Second World War through a very strict prism of self-interest and chauvinist pride. Holocaust revisionists are well aware, for example, of the tendency of Jewish historians to interpret Jewish history in such a way that the Jewish people are always the innocent victims of someone else's wickedness; but we tend to forget that this tendency toward apologetics is common to many Europeans. In fact, the only European nation that does not engage in such chauvinist representations of its own history is Germany, and that is only because any change to the Nuremberg narrative is considered "revisionism," so that, in effect, Germans are not entitled to articulate a self-serving narrative of their past because by so doing they would encroach on someone else's self-serving narrative. On the other hand, the arguments between Poles and Jews about what happened at Jedwabne are nothing less than this.

An argument can be made for the need for Germans to tell their side of the story, if only to balance out the relentless anti-Germanism of the other narratives. However, historical revisionism, and Holocaust revisionism, should be dedicated not to simply allowing each nation's partisans a voice, but to constructing a narrative that is at once true but which also attempts to reconcile the competing patriotisms of different peoples. To do this, revisionists need to continue their work in separating fact from fiction with regard to the Holocaust story. But they also need to have studies that will challenge the different peoples of Europe — including the Jewish people — to give up parochial and chauvinist myths about the past.

Thus, as a call to Gross' former countrymen to alter their idealized vision of the past, *Neighbors* might have served a purpose, and even have been of some service to revisionism. Yet, in this book and in other recent writings, Gross has shown a tendency to engage in apologetics — in his case, Jewish apologetics — that distort, indeed, undo the message he wishes to impart. Poles, no less than Germans or Jews or Americans, should be willing to heed the call to responsibility for their own history that Gross' book represents. But to make such a call without at least touching on the history of Polish-Jewish hostility and competition from both sides is simply to pose one species of chauvinism in place of another. For this reason the moral appeal of *Neighbors* remains seriously impaired: never a work of history, it ultimately fails even as a polemic.

Disney's $140 Million Dud

Pearl Harbor. (2001) Genre: film (war, drama). Length: 183 minutes. MPAA rating: PG-13. Starring: Ben Affleck, Josh Hartnett, Kate Beckinsale, Alec Baldwin, Cuba Gooding, Jr., Mako, Jon Voight. Director: Michael Bay. Producer: Jerry Bruckheimer. Screenplay: Randall Wallace. Released by: Buena Vista. Grade: D.

Reviewed by Scott L. Smith

At three hours long, *Pearl Harbor* strains to be an epic. Unfortunately, it falls short both as epic fact and epic fiction. The movie's chief focus is on the feelings and motives of a few young Americans in 1941, with a well-known Japanese attack thrown in. The 45-minute-long battle sequence just suffices to make Pearl Harbor a passable summer action movie. As for the rest of the film, it's a stitched-together mini-series suffers by comparison to the made-for-TV remake of *From Here to Eternity*, let alone to the original.

Nor is *Pearl Harbor* a match its 1970 predecessor, *Tora! Tora! Tora!* At the time that more focused account of "the day of infamy" was released, Japan was a firm ally in the Cold War and had yet to become America's economic rival. While it was a big-budget box office bomb, *Tora! Tora! Tora!* presented the enemy with balance, though some diehard veterans grumbled about minor technical inaccuracies in a very historically detailed movie.

Similar grumbling won't affect *Pearl Harbor*'s for-

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Time magazine's cover (December 22, 1941) depicted Japan's admiral Isoroku Yamamoto, commander of the Combined Japanese Fleet and architect of the attack on Pearl Harbor, as a sinister Oriental mastermind in the Fu Manchu mold. Two weeks earlier, *Time*'s December 8, 1941, issue, written before Pearl Harbor, had boasted that the American and British fleets were poised to spring on the Japanese should they snap under FDR's "war of nerves."

tunes. Screenwriter Randall Wallace simply did not write a historical documentary for enthusiasts to quibble over. While this PG-13 movie is about the Greatest Generation, it is not really for them. No need to let historical details get in the way when *Pearl Harbor*'s emotional kitsch is not even aimed at the.men and women who actually experienced the war.

Two boys from Tennessee, played by Ben Affleck and Josh Hartnett, become Army aviators, and vie for the same serially monogamous Navy nurse, played by Kate Beckinsale. The characters are ultimately dull and forgettable: nearly every one of them could have been cast by MTV. Although *Pearl Harbor*'s makers loudly promised the movie would include strong female roles, its adorable nurses are looking for little more than pilot officers to marry. While this might have made a good vehicle for Elvis Presley, action-movie director Michael Bay (*Armageddon*) was clearly overmatched by Pearl Harbor's triangulated love-dilemma: the awkward plot resolutions are implausible and unconvincing.

Pearl Harbor seeks to reinforce a vision of "America the Noble" by concocting a romantic story of historical convenience. Screenwriter Wallace's initial take on *Pearl Harbor* came from a William Faulkner story about two brothers in bucolic Mississippi who hear about the Japanese attack on the radio, with the older one going away to enlist: nobody gets away with treating America like that! When we need an American response, a quintessentially pure-American response is what we'll get.

The filmmakers want to show a new generation that Americans make stupid decisions as a people, but can be brave and worthy as individuals. It doesn't take a seminar in revisionist history to know that for Hollywood, nothing could be more stupid than isolationism. When U.S. Army combat pilot Ben Affleck leaves to shoot down Germans for the RAF — during a Battle of Britain that takes place, in this movie, in 1941, a year after it actually occurred — a British commander asks the Yank why he is so awfully anxious to die: "Not anxious to die, sir; anxious to matter." And Hollywood's Americans *so* want to matter, fighting other countries' wars, out of season!

We do get a little history. The Japanese actor Mako (*Seven Years in Tibet*) treats us to an uncanny period portrayal of Admiral Yamamoto, whose strike was brilliant but whose strategy was flawed. Overall, however, the Japanese are simply presented as stereotypical "nips," who deliver almost every line in staccato Jap plainsong (not quite replete with spittle on the chin). Are they plotting a surprise attack, or a corporate takeover?

The movie's efforts to provide historical context are predictably feeble: what's this thing all about — *oil* or something? Fortunately, we don't see enough of the enemy to really reconstitute any old venom. There is the usual Japanese spy (for once historically grounded), and even a duped Japanese-American dentist who gets an anonymous call at his office overlooking Pearl Harbor, asking humbly about the weather. But there is at least one Japanese-American good guy, a Hawaiian medic who confidently assists after the attack, and some Japanese pilots who wave Boy Scouts to take cover, an apparently true story.

There is one, rather incoherent, nod to popular revisionism (no revisionist thesis on the Second World

War has received more support than the notion that the surprise attack was no surprise — to President Franklin Roosevelt and his advisers). Dan Aykroyd, of all people, plays a captain in naval intelligence able only to voice intuitive, equivocal warnings for the deaf ears around him in Washington — a character not far removed from the spooked clients he succored in *Ghostbusters* ("Who ya gonna call?")

Against the defenders of Pearl and its associated bases, complete surprise was achieved — no mean accomplishment! The movie compromises with the pro- and anti-Admiral Kimmel factions by depicting the commander of the Pacific Fleet, like some imperial nabob, at the golf course that Sunday morning (he wasn't), but hurrying back to take command.

In *Pearl Harbor* the Japanese attack seems to last for hours. In fact, the movie devotes 45 minutes to the two-pronged onslaught (in actuality, the first wave lasted 40 minutes, the second 36). Here, Disney's bombs fall with their fuses winding, like deadly toys; torpedoes churn with agonizing slowness toward their targets (the preferred point of view is that of the ordnance). Mostly the Pearl Harbor battle lacks verisimilitude, and the soundtrack is overbearing. After the long, loud, and pious orchestral accompaniment, watching the attack is like listening to a Japanese motorcycle race while watching battle scenes from *Star Wars*. If you blink once or twice the looping Zeros, Kates, and Vals turn into Tie Fighters.

Cuba Gooding, Jr. reprises his now lukewarm role of a black guy struggling to be all he can be in a segregated navy. He plays real-life Dorie Miller, a cook and pugilist on the *West Virginia* who jumps onto a machine gun that he has never been trained to use and downs a Jap plane. In reality, the black sailor may not have gotten one, but it makes for a good story and Miller, who was killed later in the war, was awarded the Navy Cross for his service at Pearl Harbor. Gooding's character is not developed, however: a callous waste of big box-office talent.

The aftermath, as U.S. capital ships list, burn, and capsize, is just a rip-off of *Titanic*, but without the empathy. Indeed, this reviewer saw not one wet eye in the house. In a feeble tribute to the female heroes, director Bay tries to convey the chaos in the hospital during and after the attack. But with a PG-13 rating, about all that can be done to horrify us is the surreal "shakycam" style of photography long since so trendy it seems more like a bad, if not satiric, music video. Beckinsale alone is resourceful, with nylon stockings for tourniquets and copious red lipstick to mark the foreheads of triage patients.

Meanwhile, our two flyboy heroes struggle into the air that Sunday morning, December 7, 1941, with Hawaiian shirts and hangovers to match, and manage to down seven Japanese planes between them, recreating the actual accomplishment of Lieutenants George S. Welch and Kenneth Taylor, but with fancy aerobatics that have rightly drawn scorn here and in Japan. What would the *Tora! Tora! Tora!* gadflies have made of them?

Jon Voight shines as FDR. The movie accurately shows a president very much in the minority in his desire to enter a world war, but who underestimates a despised enemy. After the Pearl Harbor attack Roosevelt promises payback for an angry nation. The military says it's not possible, so the crippled commander-in-chief inspires them by struggling on his own to stand erect from his wheelchair. This would be absurdly out of character for the vain Mr. Roosevelt, but it certainly fits with the windy nature of our movie.

Our two fighter jocks, Affleck and Hartnett, are implausibly assigned to fly B-25 bombers for a little thirty-second public relations stunt over Tokyo on April 18, 1942, led by Lieutenant Colonel Jimmy Doolittle, played convincingly but with camp by Alec Baldwin. Showing atomic bombings would spoil the schmaltzy kind of payback that our movie promises — but by now we hardly care to wait for it any longer. Thus Doolittle's raid seems almost the start of a second movie—but while it would have been a very interesting one, it must receive short shrift. The Doolittle raiders' crash-landing in China merely serves to tie up the loose ends of *Pearl Harbor*'s icky love triangle, with a Christlike sacrifice to boot, but no real surprise, and not much impact

From *Pearl Harbor* you will likely leave unmoved after three hours of flag-waving. And if you knew nothing beforehand about the complex political dynamics that would in 1941 lead an aspiring Japanese superpower — undefeated on the battlefield, but nevertheless stuck in a Chinese quagmire not unlike our own Vietnam — brutally to awaken a military giant such as the United States, you will leave this movie none the wiser. In our modern era of button-pushing diplomacy, where cruise missiles are launched as the public opinion polls waver, this is not good history at all.

Hungarian Jews at Auschwitz and Beyond: An Exchange

Samuel Crowell's essay "Beyond Auschwitz" (in the March-April 2001 *Journal*) is spoiled by his unfounded assertion that "some portion of non-working Hungarian Jews *could* [emphasis added] have been killed," but that their number "could not have been more than a few tens of thousands at most." While Hungarian Jews may well have been executed for real or alleged violations of camp regulations, the killing of "a few tens of thousands" could only have happened as part of a limited extermination policy. Obviously, the first victims of such a policy would have been those unable to work, but as Crowell admits, many such Hungarian Jews, including children and old people, survived the war at Auschwitz and other camps — so who were the mysterious "tens of thousands" who "could have been killed"?

Since Crowell dismisses the gas chambers, such mass killings would have required other methods, most likely shooting. How is it that there is no eyewitness testimony at all to such mass shootings?

Crowell's claim that up to 55 percent of the deported Hungarian Jews may have perished before the war's end is equally absurd. Raul Hilberg, who supports the gassing and mass extermination claims, puts the number of Hungarian Jewish victims at 180,000, which means that most Hungarian deportees must have survived. How then does Crowell, who rejects the gassing myth, arrive at his impossibly high percentage? In fact, no more than several tens of thousands of Hungarian Jews can possibly have died in the camps.

Well acquainted with the documents, and possessing remarkable linguistic skills, Crowell could contribute substantially to revisionist research. He should therefore refrain from making irresponsible statements that damage his credibility.

Jürgen Graf

The aim of "Beyond Auschwitz" was to derive some concrete indications about the fate of Hungarian Jews, whether from neutral sources or even those hostile to revisionism. These sources indicate beyond cavil that, assuming maximum deportations, about half of the Hungarians deported in the summer of 1944 survived the war, and that the Hungarian Jews who died, or were killed, at Auschwitz, could not realistically have exceeded 10 percent of those deported, as opposed to the 90 percent usually alleged.

Of course some will still consider these losses too high; but I see no reason to engage in special pleading for the lowest conceivable number. Part of the problem is the great difficulty in accurately establishing how many Hungarian Jews were actually deported, let alone the number who returned, the number who refused to declare themselves as Jews after the war, or the number who chose to emigrate. Clearly, Tamás Stark's estimates for these latter categories could be increased, but I see no reason to increase them without any evidence. Failing such arbitrary increases, we are left with large numbers of Hungarian Jews to account for.

On the other hand, the evidence that Szabolcs Szita and others provide indicates a very high death rate among camp inmates during the last several months of the war, due to epidemics and starvation, Allied bombing attacks, and shootings during forced marches. Since, by my calculations, Hungarian Jews would have been perhaps the largest component among Jews in the concentration camp system at that time, it follows that their losses were probably devastating. Naturally, this supposition could be wrong, but in the absence of convincing evidence to the contrary, I see no reason to abandon it.

The same logic suggests that considerable numbers of Hungarian Jews may have died at Auschwitz. There is plenty of testimonial evidence as to the killing of Auschwitz inmates incapable of work, either by shooting or injection. Unlike the gassing claims, these allegations are not incredible, and thus ought not to be rejected out of hand. We know, too, that 70,000 people perished at Auschwitz through 1943. In 1944, by my projections, twice as many people passed through the camp as in prior years. Therefore, to assume the deaths of tens of thousands of Hungarian Jews at Auschwitz in 1944 is completely unremarkable.

Finally, Hilberg's estimated Hungarian losses are based on pre-war Hungary: these figures are not useful unless compared to his numbers for Romania, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, and the USSR. The combined total should yield figures comparable to those of standard historians.

I think it is important in revisionist research to be willing to state one's conclusions conservatively and fairly. It may be that to concede a large number of deaths among Jews, or, in this case, Hungarian Jews, may damage the credibility of a revisionist among some other revisionists. On the other hand, a refusal to concede severe losses among the Jewish people, even if such projections lack the final balance of proof, will appear even more irresponsible and damaging to one's credibility to the vast majority who are not revisionists. It is this majority, I believe, that should be our audience.

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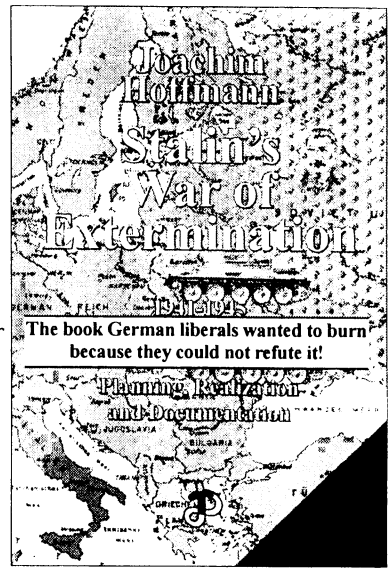
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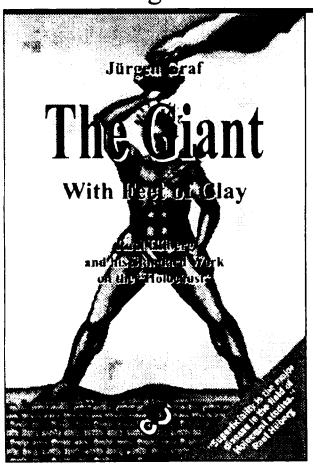

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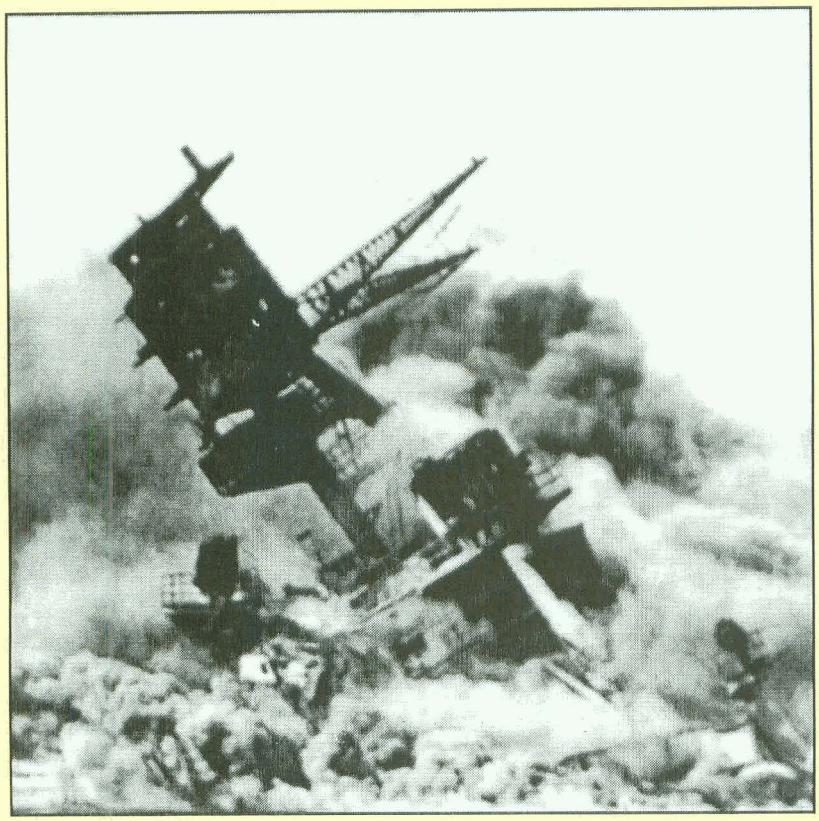

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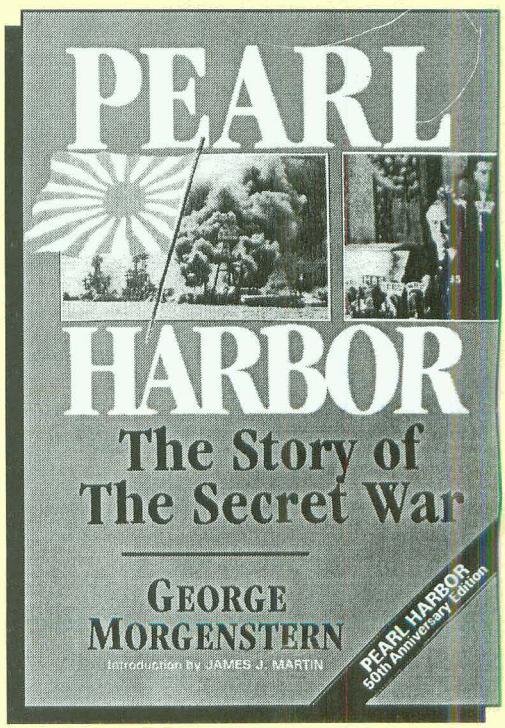

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